EVELYN WAUGH: *A Review by Joseph Heller*

THE NATION

*JANUARY 20, 1962 . . 25c*

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# THE FUTURE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

*William Gomberg*

★

# FLIGHT FROM DOOMSDAY

*Grant A. Flint*

# PURSE-STRING DIPLOMACY at the U. N.

*Jane Stolle*

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# LETTERS

## Buy a Share in Peace

*Dear Sirs:* Shares in the Future, Inc., a fund for the support of peace and disarmament through the United Nations, is a new corporation founded in December, 1961, by a group of women in Boulder, Colorado. As women and mothers, the founders felt a special responsibility to try to insure their children a peaceful future to be shared with all the children of the world.

The way they chose to carry out their idea was to issue mock shares at a dollar par value and to sell them to the public. The money realized will be turned over to the United Nations for the support of peace and disarmament. Shares are sold in denominations up to $500.

*Boulder, Colo.* HELEN L. CAULTER

## Information Wanted

*Dear Sirs:* David Hyun, born in Korea but living in U.S. territory since he was six years old, is threatened with deportation because of his involvement in union activities, and the sugar-workers strike, in Hawaii in 1945-46. As Mr. Hyun's attorney, I am looking for information establishing that my client would be subject to physical persecution if deported to South Korea. Any of your readers who have such information, or are aware of sources where the information might be available, are asked to communicate with me at my office, Suite 101, Hollywood-Ivar Building, 1741 North Ivar Ave., Hollywood 28, California. MAYNARD J. OMERBERG

## Democracy in the NEA

*Dear Sirs:* In answer to Myron Lieberman's article, "Teachers Choose a Union," in *The Nation,* December 2, 1961, I would like to ask him how the NEA could do anything but advocate lay membership on state boards which license teachers when, according to the U.S. Constitution, public education is a responsibility of the state? . . . Education is public business and the citizens are jealous of their prerogative in running it.

Also, the NEA is a democratic organization. Mandates for its actions come from the Representative Assembly, the legislative and policy-forming body of the association. The NEA Classroom Teachers Department, composed of approximately 85 per cent of the NEA membership, has a great deal to say about the policies of the association.

The NEA is a long way from being administrator-dominated. Education is a cooperative venture and administration and classroom teachers must work together for quality education.

These are only a few of the statements made by Mr. Lieberman to which I take exception. The article does not appear to show that the author has credited the NEA with advances made in education.

EMILIE REID, President
Detroit Education Association, Inc.
*Detroit, Mich.*

## Sources for 'JUGGERNAUT'

*Dear Sirs:* I would appreciate publication of this brief note about the source materials I used in the preparation of "JUGGERNAUT: The Warfare State" [issue of Oct. 28, 1961]. The materials were voluminous. *The Nation* file, accumulated over the years, furnished literally hundreds of items. I supplemented this with as wide reading and research as possible, including books, magazine articles, a variety of reports and testimony before Congressional committees. In writing the article, I attempted to give appropriate credit to the major sources, but it was obviously impossible to list them all. William A. Reuben, author of *The Atom Spy Hoax,* published by Action Books in 1955, feels that his book should have been mentioned among the sources. I did consult it and found in it some supporting detail, consisting of quotations from newspaper headlines and articles of the time, that helped in writing the final draft of the chapter on the military and the atom bomb. To this extent, his research was helpful and I'm happy to make this acknowledgment.

*New York City* FRED J. COOK

## Petition from France

*Dear Sirs:* In view of your interest in the Braden-Wilkinson case (I refer *inter alia* to "The Braden-Wilkinson Case," by William M. Kunstler, in your issue of Dec. 30), I am sure your readers would like to know that a group of French democrats has signed a petition, addressed to the President of the United States, asking clemency for the two men. "We who love America . . . wish to plead for two men," the petition reads in part, "who . . . have sacrificed themselves for the ideal of liberty which we cherish. It is with this thought in mind that we French democrats earnestly entreat you to consider the cases of Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden with an eye to see whether Executive clemency is not in order. . . ."

In addition to myself, the signers are G. Bérard-Quelin, Yves Dechezelles, François Mitterand, Henry Torres, Alfred Sauvy, René Clair, Louis Massignon, Alain Resnais, Pierre Cot, Claude Roy, Etienne Cremieux-Alcan, Louis de Villefosse, André Schwartzbart, Claudine Chonez, Pierre Frederix, André Jeanson, Prof. Laurent Schwartz, Prof. André Hauriou, Pierre Stribbe, Jean Senard, Daniel Mayer, Jean Cassou, Mme. Emile Colette-Kahn, Louis Martin-

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1962
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THE NATION

# EDITORIALS

## Those Katanga Freedom Fighters

The Hungarian freedom fighters had it pretty rough, but since then freedom-fighting has become a more rewarding occupation. The Katanga freedom fighters, prepared to make the supreme sacrifice for colonialism, are well paid for their efforts. It is somewhat as if the embattled farmers at Concord had demanded $30 a day and the right to shed their blood for King George III. However, this refers only to the subordinate freedom fighters on Katangese soil, defending their adopted fatherland against the United Nations invaders. Even more to be envied are the Katanga freedom fighters of New York and Washington, captained by Michel Struelens and Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut. Some interesting information is beginning to leak out about these crusaders against communism and their interconnections.

Mr. Struelens is a handsome, clean-cut Katanga Belgian who, sixteen months ago, joined the handsome, clean-cut public relations fraternity of Madison Avenue, where he opened the Katanga Information Office. His efforts were not confined, however, to fighting communism in Africa; Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, revealed that Struelens was one of the speakers at Project Alert, the school for super-Birch-type anti-Communists in Los Angeles (see editorial, "The War Party," Dec. 30, 1961, p. 522). Rowan charged that Struelens was "getting some extremely vocal help in dispensing a string of myths and a stream of misinformation about Katanga and the Congo." This was a reference to the "Katanga lobby" and specifically to the "American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters."

According to the Los Angeles *Mirror* Wire Services, Struelens told reporters in that city that the State Department had attempted to deport him for his brave stand on behalf of Moise Tshombe, the leading anti-Communist in Africa outside of the Union of South Africa, the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga* and the Belgian, French and British capitalists now cruelly beset by the Red hosts. Presumably this shows, as the late Joe McCarthy maintained to his dying day, that the State Department is infiltrated by Communists; but the plot was thwarted by Senator Dodd. According to *Newsweek* (January 15), M. Struelens' lobbying on behalf of Moise, *Minière et al.*, has been so assiduously supported by Mr. Dodd that if Struelens ever gets around to writing his memoirs, he will title them "Dodd Is My Co-Pilot."

Struelens, however, also makes freedom-fighting less agonizing for Dodd. According to Milton Viorst, the New York *Post* Washington correspondent, Struelens has been supplying information for the Senator's impassioned pro-Tshombe speeches in the Senate and arranged for his recent trip to Katanga, which was the occasion for the assaults on two United Nations officials by the Tshombe gendarmes. At the time of the beatings, Dodd seemed somewhat chastened, but he quickly recovered. It is difficult to see which state he represents more zealously—Connecticut, whence he came, or Katanga, where his heart is. He behaves almost as if he were a Katangese agent, but this cannot be, for the Senator is not registered as such. And the Senator is careful about such things, for when he was an agent for Guatemala's anti-Communist government, he registered with the State Department, in accordance with legal requirements.

None of this should be regarded as in the least invidious, for it has been investigated at a closed hearing on January 9 by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. M. Struelens testified at length, presumably in connection with the State Department's invalidation of his visa on the ground that he had engaged in activities outside of the information field. The competence of the subcommittee cannot be questioned, for the chairman at the hearing was none other than Dodd. The do-it-yourself movement has entered the legislative halls.

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## Inside Dope from Palm Beach

The end of a first Presidential year calls for a ritual almost as obligatory for political reporters as the old *New York Sun's* assurance to Virginia, every Christmas, that there was a Santa Claus. And what they tell their readers may be on just about the same level of plausibility. This year the task of the reporters, in evaluating the President's first year, has been affected by a two-hour news conference at which he forecast the State of the Union message, with no direct quotation permitted. Mr. Kennedy is an adroit politician. The conference may have served his purposes more than it did those of his audience.

The stories which emerged were almost all pessimistic from a liberal or progressive standpoint. The journalistic seers saw, in the words of *The New York Times*, "a definite swing toward conservatism." The New Frontier was giving way to the old like a sand dune pounded by the waves. The coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans had become almost a third party in Congress. Chairman Wilbur D. Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee held practically a veto over projected legislation. Even if the nation wanted welfare legislation, the over-represented rural areas could frustrate its will. And Sam Rayburn, the mediator and diplomat who for twenty-seven years had smoothed the path of Democratic Presidents, was dead.

Except for the tide toward conservatism, which is irresistible only in the eyes of conservatives, there is some truth in these observations. But it is not the whole truth nor even a preponderant truth. In the first place, as these forecasts were written the Congress was not yet in session. The dope stories were like reviewing a book which the reviewer has not read, because it has not yet been written. Even if the legislative outlook were as bleak as the reporters said it was, the President might conceivably change the outlook in time.

His chances are the better because his personal popularity is at a new high. It is true that a President's popularity is mercurial and not directly translatable into the hard currency of legislative votes — but that it has no barometric value at all is absurd. Every member of the House must stand for election in 1962. Some have nothing to worry about — they are shoo-ins. The Republicans, however, must be careful about attacking a popular President too harshly; Chairman Miller of the Republican National Committee can say almost anything he pleases, but the ordinary Republican Representative has less latitude. As for the Democrats, they are certainly in no position to ignore or downgrade Mr. Kennedy's popularity. Even those who dislike his program must accept the fact that the public likes it, on the record to date. And the only hope for some others is to ride on his coattails.

The fact is that the President himself has had a hand in the exaggeration of his coming domestic difficulties. There is always resistance to any form of spending other than for arms: it is as if education, medical care, civil rights and everything conducive to a healthy society were somehow tainted when the federal government gets into it. Whatever Congress now passes in the way of wholesome legislation, will shine like a good deed in a naughty world. A corollary effect will be to enhance the image of the President as the friend of the people. Whatever is not passed will be blamed on the Congressional skinflints. Mr. Kennedy, like every President, has his worries, and they are not small either on the foreign or the domestic front. But on the domestic front they are not nearly so serious as the prognosticators would have us believe.

## Bidding for the Right-Wing Dollar

As the political parties prepare to wage a campaign on which it is estimated that a combined total of $100 million will be spent, it is worth noting that, for the first time in years, the Democrats if not "vastly financially better off than the Republicans" — as Earl Mazo reports in the New York *Herald Tribune* — nevertheless enjoy a substantial advantage. Since President Kennedy took office, the Democrats have raised $4.1 million, a sum which represents "more financial support than was ever before contributed in a non-campaign year," according to Chairman John M. Bailey. In the same period, the Republicans raised but a fraction of this sum and will start the campaign with a $600,000 deficit. Moreover, the Democrats are raising money with increasing ease and efficiency; a recent fund-raising dinner in California netted $50,000.

But more important than the surprising reversal in solvency ratios at the start of the campaign, or the reasons which might be cited to explain it, is a basic dilemma that now confronts the Republican Party. Of recent years, any number of new right-wing political-action groups — including foundations — have made heavy inroads on sources of funds which the Republicans have always tapped in the past for the essential pump-priming needed to get the big fund-raising drives under way. Today, in order to compete with these new rivals, GOP spokesmen are compelled to sound more right-wing than the right-wingers. A case in point was the appearance of William Miller, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Rep. Bob Wilson, Chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, at a recent political-action conference called in Washington by *Human Events*, the right-wing newsletter.

As a result of such appearances, the image of Republican conservatism is coming to bear an ever-more-



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striking resemblance to the image of the John Birch Society and, in the process, valuable "middle-of-the-road" ground is being pre-empted by the Democrats. In some areas — California is one — the moderate Republicans are compelled to keep the extremists at arm's length and fund-raising efforts have suffered as a consequence. An aura of mystery, for example, surrounds the postponement of a February 1 fund-raising affair in Southern California. No doubt the big contributions will begin to roll in once the campaign is under way; after all, the AFL-CIO's COPE reports that officers of the nation's largest corporations gave 95 per cent of their 1960 political contributions to the Republican Party. But this year's retrograde appeal, at the outset of the campaign, to the rhinoceros element in the party may prove costly in the end. Not only are the Republicans likely to end up with a badly diminished share of the right-wing dollar but, in the effort to hold even that, may well forfeit the votes and contributions of the enlightened conservatives and moderates who have always been the party's mainstay.

## Post-Holocaust Morals

Conscious of their heavy responsibility, the Armed Forces of the United States, now thoroughly intellectualized, have taken to hypothesizing and examining the various situations that may confront them after a nuclear attack. If they can't do it themselves, they engage a think factory to do it for them. Thus the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Air Force's Office of Scientific Research contracted with Human Sciences Research, Inc., to provide a study titled, "Social Phenomena in a Post-Nuclear Attack Situation." Read it at bedtime and enjoy pleasant dreams.

"With communications gone and state and local government destroyed or unable to act," the AP compendium of the document reads, "military officers could be confronted with the need for ruthless and pitiless command decisions." Nothing is said about these soul-searching problems in the government's manual on fall-out protection, but one hypothetical, though perfectly possible, situation is that a vitally important missile installation needed for retaliation may be threatened by fire resulting from the bomb explosion. The installation may be saved if some residential buildings in the path of the fire are dynamited. There is no time to evacuate the occupants; or, perhaps, the local police chief, overwhelmed by his problems and perhaps *non compos mentis*, takes no steps to clear the buildings. What should the military commander do?

Obviously his duty is to dynamite, and the civilians be damned. The base has been built for the purpose of deterrence or reprisal. Deterrence has failed, but an equal number of Russians can still be made to pay for the Americans who have been immolated. The officer must give the order to blow up the apartment houses even if one of them contains his wife and ten children, not to speak of his aged parents.

Another possible situation: there is only enough vaccine or blood plasma available to treat military personnel. Civilians are also in desperate need of aid. Who shall get the precious medication which spells the difference between life and death? The Air Force does not say so, but again the answer is obvious. In the nature of nuclear war, civilians have become more expendable than soldiers. The future of the country depends on the military, who will bring order out of chaos if anybody can. If they bring only more chaos, well, *c'est la* (nuclear) *guerre*.

A nuclear war could have its good side, too, the report intimates. In many of our great metropolitan centers, run-of-the-mine citizens who can afford to pay only $30 a room for rent are paying $60. If they survive the holocaust, but others don't, and if, further, the destruction of housing is relatively slight, rents may go down. There might even be free housing for a while.

The report properly indicates that a certain optimum ratio of human to property casualties is desirable. If not enough millions are killed, so that the surviving population cannot sustain itself on the agricultural and industrial facilities that remain, the survivors will slaughter one another for food and fuel and shelter. It is relevant to recall, in this connection, that Lenin called on the workers to turn international war into civil war. He did not envision nuclear war, which is very likely to produce this result automatically. Whether the Air Force will be able to do anything about this, if the event comes to pass, is a wide open question. But it is reassuring to see the Air Force studying so hard.

## The Varieties of Arm-Twisting

"Arm-twisting" in the diplomatic sense, had its origin in the regime of John Foster Dulles, when American persuaders at U.N. headquarters would tell American allies how to vote if they knew what was good for them. Since the U.N. became swamped by Asian and African upstarts who vote as they please, the practice has fallen into desuetude. The Kennedy Administration has revived it, however, in a form which *The Nation* highly approves.

President François Duvalier of Haiti, who re-elected himself last April, is one who feels himself intolerably injured by current American policy, although he is careful to spare President Kennedy personally. On the occasion of the arrival of a new American ambassador, Duvalier cried aloud on television that the United States was not doing right by its faithful ally, Haiti. He had pleaded for help, he said, only to be answered with



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smiles and promises instead of money. In 1961, Haiti received $14,900,000, but the new year is more than two weeks old and no baksheesh whatever has been forthcoming. The reason, it is revealed in Washington, is that the Dirksen amendment to last year's foreign-aid legislation blocks aid to countries in default on their debts to the United States; and Haiti, or rather the Duvalier cabal, is such a country. The Alliance for Progress is "a beautiful victory of mind over matter," said Dr. Duvalier, but Haiti is not getting its share. This might be, he suggested, because Haiti is a lone Negro country without any ethnic ties with the rest of South America, an appeal which will probably leave Negroes all over the world as cold as it will leave whites. Obviously, the trouble with Haiti is not that it is Negro, but that it is ruled by a particular Negro: François Duvalier.

Far away, in the troubled land of Laos, teeth are also being gnashed at Uncle Sam, and again money is involved. After the three Princes had agreed at Geneva to form a coalition government, Boun Oum, the rightist Prince and former protégé of the United States, announced that the deal was off. He was impelled to this decision by strongman General Phoumi Nosavan, who still appears to be the favorite of the American military mission to Laos. Boun Oum and Phoumi are perfectly willing to enter the coalition, provided they receive the ministries of Defense and Interior, i.e., all the military and police power is to be in their hands, and none in those of the neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma. When our Ambassador, Winthrop G. Brown, failed to move the stony heart of strongman Phoumi, the United States failed to turn over the usual $3,000,000 to $4,000,000 monthly payment for the wages of the Laotian Army and police force. The Royal (rightist) Laotian Government denounced this failure with the vehemence of a chorus girl whose estranged husband is in arrears on alimony. Its authoritative newspaper, *Lao Presse*, declared: "The pressure now exercised on the Royal Government to make it deviate from its duty and its dignity is intolerable. The Government and people of Laos would rather endure the rigors of great austerity than fail in their mission of resistance."

The arms of certain other of our dictator-allies call for some sharp, therapeutic twisting, too—those of Chiang Kai-shek of Taiwan, General Park of South Korea and the Shah of Persia, for instance. Unlike arm-twisting in other circumstances, in these cases it would hurt the victims a good deal more than it would hurt us, which is supposed to be the general idea.

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# Purse-String Diplomacy at the U.N. . . . *by Jane Stolle*

*United Nations*

THE U.N. is asking the world for a $200,000,000 loan and it will be a pity, in a way, if there is no full-scale debate in Congress over the U.S. slice of it. Devoted friends of the organization, as well as its foes, have questions about its fiscal muddle that deserve full public answers such as a Congressional investigation would give. It is not, of course, that the U.N. has been hiding anything. The organization's financial affairs are spread before the eyes of the world through countless documents and reports which the Fifth Committee—the Administrative and Budgetary Committee—examines with such care that a guard's salary in Geneva cannot be raised without its knowledge. Nevertheless, the U.N. is $170,000,000 in the red, or will be by June, and the public is entitled to know the complex story of how it got there.

A few conservative Senators, spearheaded by Thomas Dodd (D., Conn.), so strongly oppose U.S. emergency aid to the U.N. that they may even risk the political dangers to themselves of airing general U.S. policy—past and present—in that body, with particular reference to the Congo operations. In that case, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson would undoubtedly go before Congress to defend the Administration's strong backing of the U.N. bond proposal; and a few looks back into why the Congo operation got so bogged down could bring up some questions more embarrassing to the aforesaid Senators, who are staunch friends of Moise Tshombe, than to the Administration.

If provoked, the Administration is ready, apparently, to come out swinging. The opposition has already had a forewarning of this in last month's speeches by two high State Department officials — G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Carl Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs—who suggested that much of the opposition in this country and Europe to the U.N.'s Katanga operation was generated by a well-financed "propaganda machine." Further elaboration on that theme, in a Congressional debate, could lead from the "propaganda machine" to its financial and political supporters—the latter conveniently at hand in that very same room. It could be a very interesting sequence.

However, the immediate stake is the U.N.'s future, in the form of the bond issue; and both the Administration and U.N.'s Acting Secretary General, U Thant, want to avoid its being made a political football. Once the U.S. share (hopefully, $100 million) is authorized, other members will follow suit in extricating the organization from its fiscal jam. Then

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the U.N. will have a breathing spell to reorganize itself, if necessary, to cope with the intramural political struggle for power that has already pushed it to the brink of bankruptcy.

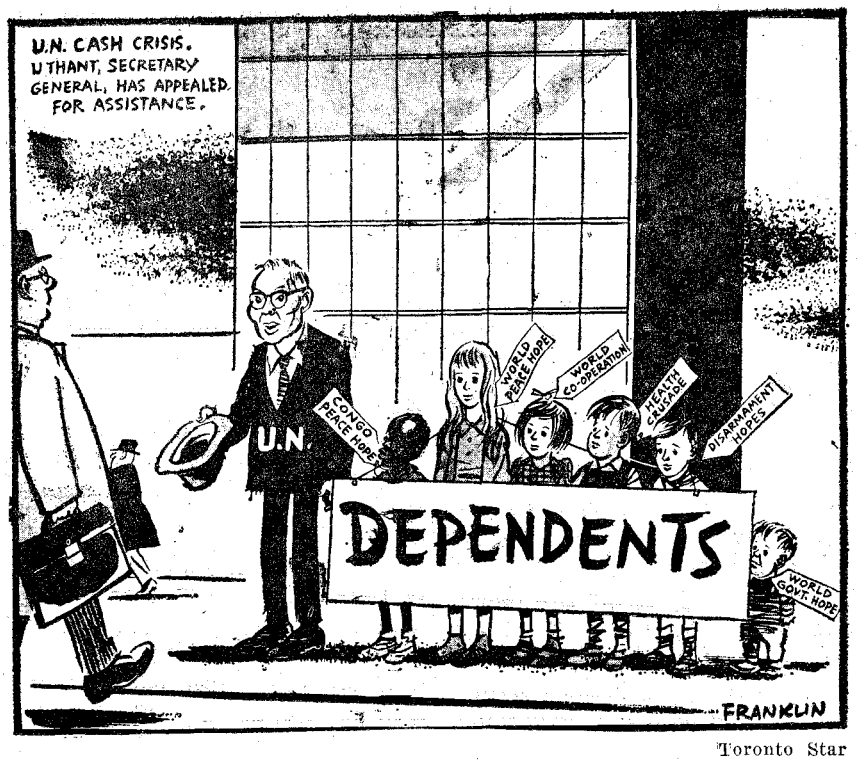
"Purse-string diplomacy," as this struggle may be called, is a complicated ploy practiced by virtually all the member nations at one time or another. It boils down to an attempt to direct the policy of the U.N. through its expenditures rather than through the normal channels of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. By refusing to pay all or part of their special assessments—in U.N. language, voluntary contributions—the non-paying members, in effect, exercise a financial veto, or at least a restrictive rein, on operations approved by the majority but of which they disapprove in whole or in part.

In recent years, the Secretariat had developed fairly satisfactory methods of getting around these financial roadblocks. But gimmicks could not solve the enormous financial problem (by U.N. standards) posed by the Congo operation. As a result, it was on this issue that the purse-string diplomats had their first real opportunity to exercise their power —and the U.N. went deeply and precariously into debt.

TO UNDERSTAND the workings of purse-string diplomacy, one must first take a look at the weapon it uses—the U.N. fiscal structure.

Member nations contribute to the regular budget of the organization in the form of assessments based on their capacity to pay. From the beginning, the assessments presented a thorny problem; each year, when they are reviewed, outraged howls are heard from members whose capacities are judged greater than before. Part of the difficulty in arriving at a "capacity-to-pay" decision is that the criteria were purposely left vague at the time the U.N. was founded. Not only had the founding fathers the bitter experience of the League of Nation's rigid financial arrangements as background, but they had a war-devastated world to deal with. Of the four sponsoring nations —the United Kingdom, China, the United States and the USSR—the United States was the only power not physically within the past theatres of World War II military operations. After much recriminatory discussion that threatened the organization before it was even established, it was decided, when the Committee on Financial Arrangements met in London in late 1945, that

> . . . An assessment scale would be based on capacity to pay as influenced by: total national income, per capita income, war-caused economic dislocation, and ability to acquire foreign (especially "hard") currency. The scale would be devised by the proposed Committee on Contributions. Two difficulties soon arose: inadequate statistical data to determine much of the above criteria, and U.S. objection to the 49.89 per cent assigned to it by the above scale. Not only was there too much guesswork used in arriving at the figures, but as Senator Vandenberg said, "Such a large assessment to any one nation would ultimately have an effect on the sovereign equality of nations." After much diplomatic haggling, the U.S. percentage was reduced to 39.89, with subsequent reassessments informally envisaged by which the U.S. share would be eventually reduced to one-third, which goal it achieved in 1954.—(From J. David Singer's excellent book, *"Financing International Organizations: The United Nations Budget Process."*)




Toronto Star

*"Buddy, can you spare a dime? Franc? Mark? Shilling? Ruble?"*

More than half the regular budget goes for so-called "housekeeping" expenses such as salaries and expenses of personnel, conference servicing, public-information activities, travel expenses of delegates to and from Assembly sessions, etc. (Many of the expenses, of course, have risen sharply with the doubling of U.N. membership.) Non-operational programs of the Departments of Political and Security Council Affairs, Economic and Social Affairs, Trusteeship and Legal Affairs account for about 20 per cent of the regular budget, and the remaining 20 per cent goes for the financing of a part of the U.N. Technical Assistance activities.

Defaulters in payment of regular budgetary assessments are liable to loss of their vote in the General Assembly, according to Article 19 of the Charter, if they don't pay up within two years. Leeway is given the defaulters, however, if "the General Assembly is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member." Article 19 has never been invoked, but the threat is always there.

PURSE-STRING diplomacy plays little part in the consideration and use of the regular budget. As statistical data concerning a country's ca-



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pacity to pay became more available, as wartime destruction and economic dislocation lessened, and as new countries joined the U.N., assessments have gone up in some cases, down in others. A large part of the regular budget is paid by a very few members: over half of the members pay, in the aggregate, a little over 3 per cent of the total; twenty countries pay almost 90 per cent. Among the twenty, the five permanent members—United States, United Kingdom, USSR, France and China—alone account for two-thirds of the budget, with the United States paying almost a third. Though the imbalances may seem enormous to the casual observer—especially to the U.S. taxpayer—the larger and richer powers have long recognized their responsibility for shouldering the major part of the financial burden; and, despite complaints traditional to budget-review time, the system worked reasonably well until 1956.

THEN CAME the British-French-Israeli action in Suez, the beginning of large *voluntary* contributions to the budget, and the first real use of the purse strings as a weapon in the struggle for power in the U.N. It was also the first time that the Soviet Union openly cocked a sternly speculative eye at the Secretary General and the use he made of his office.

After France, England and Israel were persuaded by the U.N. to settle the Suez problem peaceably, the need to fill the vacuum in that troubled

*Midstream*

area was apparent. The General Assembly's answer was to create the United Nations Emergency Force, the first international force not dominated by any one power. It had to be paid for. The regular budget was clearly inadequate for the purpose, and Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold recommended that a Special Account, outside the regular budget, be set up. Member states were to share the costs on the basis of the 1957 regular budget assessments, with $10,000,000 to be furnished immediately.

The Soviet Union, insisting that the "aggressors should pay," was not alone in its protests against the suggestion. The Arab states particularly were indignant that they should be forced to pay any part of the costs of being invaded. Many Latin American countries also clutched their pockets, stating that "it would be regrettable if, by reason of the apportionment of fresh burdens which could not at present be assessed, but which might very well come close to the amount of the annual U.N. budget, certain member states were to find themselves in the situation envisaged in Article 19."

A compromise was reached by which the principle of collective financial responsibility was maintained: the first $10,000,000 was levied according to the regular scale of assessments, while all further sums needed would be furnished by voluntary contributions. There have been adjustments in the assessments since 1957, due to pressure from Latin American and new members (largely African); nevertheless, one-third of all member states have defaulted in part or in full. The United States has continued to pay the major share of the cost of UNEF, both through assessments and voluntary contribution—and UNEF continues to run a serious annual deficit.

THE SOVIET UNION argues that the whole UNEF operation, which was initiated and approved by the General Assembly, is in violation of the Charter, and that therefore she is not in default. In support, the Russians cite Article 24 (1), which provides that measures for the maintenance of international peace and security fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Security Council (the Assembly having authority only to make recommendations), and Articles 43 and 48, which declare that only the Security Council may decide the question of payment of expenses involved in such operations.

But Russian restiveness goes farther, touching upon the sensitive question of the Secretary General's role in the U.N. Because of the emergency character of the operation, Dag Hammarskjold was given almost complete political control of UNEF, although an Advisory Committee of seven member countries was appointed to aid him. According to William R. Frye, in his book, *A United Nations Peace Force*, the committee

> . . . has not sought to make decisions or take responsibility. No votes have been taken; issues have not been forced to a showdown. Thus, when fast action has been necessary, there has been no need to wait while seven U.N. delegates contacted their home governments by cable and awaited "formal instructions" — a process which normally takes days. *Whether in another world crisis the world community would be satisfied to trust a different Secretary General with so much authority is an open question.* (Italics added.)

The Soviet Union was eminently dissatisfied with the powers given the Secretary General in this case, and became even more so in subsequent cases. Yet, all things considered, the Russians were not entirely unhappy about UNEF. True, the operation kept them out of the Middle East, but by the same token it also kept out the British and the French. To the Russians, the most disturbing aspect of the whole affair was its revelation of what a determined Secretary General could do when he had the support of some, at least, of the big powers. The relatively overlooked U.N. action in Laos brought this into even sharper focus.

IN the fall of 1959, Laos was in one of the early stages of its still unresolved crisis. A rather ambiguous plea from the Laotian Government for help against "outside intervention" was received by the Secretariat. Believing that time was of the essence, as in the Suez crisis, and hoping to keep the cold war out of the affair,



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Hammarskjold took advantage of the elasticity written into the Charter and made an unprecedented "personal approach" to the Security Council. Through various legalities (as interpreted by the then President of the Council), Hammarskjold managed to get the question of establishing a U.N. "Presence" in Laos passed by the Council as a "procedural" matter, rather than one of "substance," thus by-passing an almost certain Soviet veto. The U.N. "Presence," in fact, consisted of a fact-finding commission which returned with only meager evidence to back up the Laotian Government's claim of "outside intervention," and the complaint led to no further action by the Council. But the Soviet Union was outraged at the manner in which the whole question had been handled; the Secretary General, again aided by the Western big powers, had pulled a fast one, the Russians charged. However, little money had been involved in the incident, and there was therefore no room for purse-string diplomacy — then.

That came soon—in the Congo.

Only a historian with more facts at hand than are now available on the Congo problem could weave through the labyrinth of U.N. operations there and come out pointing a finger at anyone. One can only try to deal with the formal positions taken by the major protagonists and show how they skyrocketed the U.N. budgetary deficit.

IT IS almost forgotten now that the early U.N. resolutions proposing aid to the fledging Republic of the Congo in restoring peace and order were approved unanimously by the Security Council. These early measures were aimed at quelling the mutinous, Belgian-trained, Congolese Army and police, and getting the Belgian officers to clear out of the country. At that stage, apparently no one objected to these goals except the Belgians, who insisted indignantly that they were getting out as quickly as they decently could; and, *sotto voce*, France and the Union of South Africa, who thought the whole decolonization movement in Africa was being rushed. By the end of 1960, 20,000 U.N. troops (UNOC) from twenty-nine nations and some 200 technical and administrative experts were in the Congo, and the cost of keeping them there was mounting. In October, 1960, both the United States and the USSR informed the U.N. that they would waive their claims to the $10,000,000 and $1,500,000, respectively, that they had already spent out of their own pockets. But Soviet generosity did not last long, nor did its approval of the way the Congo was being handled by the U.N. Secretary General.

And as soon as the so-called "Assembly of Humanity"—the Fifteenth General Assembly — convened that fall, some of the thirteen newly admitted African members firmly echoed the Soviet Union's charge that neo-colonialism was being shielded by the U.N. in the Congo. Some Latin American delegations expressed grave doubts about the trend of events. Each new U.N. report from the Congo, each U.N. resolution, brought down a torrent of words—for and against. The United States lined up solidly with the former colonial powers and enough others to eke out a majority that, publicly at least, backed the U.N. action—or inaction, as some saw it.

As everyone knows, things went from bad to worse in the Congo. Political assassinations took place, rival governments were set up, chaos became the order of the day despite the best efforts of the U.N. civilian experts and, though a full-scale civil war did not break out, peace and order were far from restored. Meanwhile, the bills for the operation continued to mount, and so did Soviet determination not to help pay them.

This, the Russians said in speeches and documents, is why: Again, as in UNEF, the question of financing UNOC should have been dealt with only by the Security Council. Since it was not, the whole operation, including the financial aspects of it, is illegal and therefore not binding on anyone, least of all the USSR. By seeking to safeguard the Security Council's exclusive authority in such cases, the Russians of course were seeking to safeguard their veto rights.

AFTER months of acrid debate in almost every organ of the U.N., the General Assembly passed resolutions on the financing of UNOC that were more noteworthy for their ambiguity and inner contradictions than for their efficacy in raising money. In addition, a working group of fifteen financial experts from as many nations, having examined (a) methods for covering the cost of peace-keeping operations and (b) the relationship between such methods and the existing administrative and budgetary procedures of the organization, came up with highly incompatible suggestions.

If nothing else emerged from the debate over the murky Congo operation, the fact that the U.N. is suffering from growing pains came through clearly. Its financial problems are only one symptom. But at the moment, they are the most acute and, at the very least, must be administered a palliative.

That palliative would be, of course, the $200,000,000 bond issue. No one who was close to the Congo debate expects the U.N. to get into another such operation soon. But, with the best of intentions, it did get into the Congo financial mess and must now be extricated so it can decide just what its future is to be—with no purse-string diplomacy to endanger it. A body that has grown from a fifty-one nation organization of limited scope in 1946 to one of 104 members and greatly expanded political and economic functions is bound to suffer some discomfort. Once extricated from the Congo dilemma, both financially and physically, it will undoubtedly find changes are overdue in many aspects other than the purely financial. The Soviet Union and the underdeveloped countries have strong cases. They *are* underrepresented in the administrative branches of the U.N.; the U.N. *has* been Western-oriented; the West *did* drag its feet in the Congo operation. But the old order changeth, both in the U.N. and the United States, and the new order should be given a chance to show what it can do.

For, as the conservative Senators will find if they press too far, the U.N. is here to stay. The world is at the stage of development where a universal organization is essential, and if it isn't the U.N. in its present form, it will be something else like it—perhaps even less manageable from the point of view of the West.



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# KATANGA: BRITAIN'S DIXIE . . *by Andrew Boyd*

*London*

THE CONGO lies at the heart of Africa in more senses than the geographical one. More important is the fact that it straddles the great fault line that divides sub-Saharan Africa. The greater part of the former Belgian colony is truly tropical; the Equator runs right across it. This is the Africa of steamy rainforest and swamp, of a piece with the West Africa forest belt. But when King Leopold's men pushed their way east and south up the great river and its tributaries in the 1890s, they emerged at last into the cooler, drier uplands of the High Katanga. Here they met other Europeans, who had made an even longer journey inland from the far south: Cecil Rhodes's men of the British South Africa Company. The tortuous 1,200-mile frontier that today divides the Rhodesias from the Congo's Katanga province resulted from the subsequent hard bargaining between these two groups of determined empire-builders. The most important section of this frontier runs along the watershed between the river basins of the Congo and the Zambezi.

This watershed is no natural divide. The African tribes whom the first European explorers found in the area — Lamba, Lunda and others — are spread-eagled across it. The frontier also cuts right through the rich Katanga-Rhodesia mineral zone. Half of the copper mining centers lie on the Rhodesian, half on the Congo side of the line; none of them more than a few miles from it. The Belgians were quicker to develop their side than the British; but in the early days of their exploitation of the High Katanga, their main supply line and export channel was the railway that had been pushed up from the south through the Rhodesias and across the border. Later, the British-built and British-owned Benguela Railway, running across Portuguese Angola, provided another route to the sea for Katanga copper exports.

Other close links across the border have developed at many levels. Tanganyika Concessions, the British company that controls the Benguela Railway, has also a substantial holding in the Brussels-based *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*. The influx of African labor, including many Africans from the 3-million-strong Baluba tribal group, into the mining towns on both sides of the line, has multiplied personal and tribal links between the Katanga and Rhodesia populations. At Kipushi, southwest of Elisabethville, an airstrip that runs across the frontier is used by both territories.

IT IS worth restating such facts because the British role in the Katanga affair can hardly be understood unless their significance is fully grasped. The odd-looking border line drawn in the 1890s has to be regarded as of somewhat secondary importance. The High Katanga is, essentially, a political salient pushed into the geographically similar Rhodesian uplands. Elisabethville lies much nearer to the Rhodesian federal capital, Salisbury, than to the Congo capital, Leopoldville. The High Katanga is one with the Rhodesias in belonging to the "false tropics" — the relatively cool and dry plateau country that has attracted British and other European settlers to southern and eastern Africa, creating a situation quite different from that of the Africa of the true tropics to the north and west.

True, the British Government has repeatedly declared that, together with other governments, it is directing its efforts toward the restoration of the unity of the former Belgian Congo. Intelligent opinion in London, official and unofficial, is well aware of the disastrous implications not only for the Congo, but for Africa as a whole, of the South Katanga secession. Yet the fact remains that, when a white settler in Elisabethville goes out to snipe at the United Nations force there, declaring that he is simply fighting for his home, his words strike a chord among his white neighbors next door in Rhodesia; and, through Rhodesia, that chord reverberates in London. It is a further fact that, as Hugh Gaitskell and Harold Wilson, speaking for the Labour Party, pointed out in the House of Commons on December 14, the interlinked mining corporations have not only financed a costly program of propaganda, carried out by high-powered public-relations men, and largely directed to smearing the U.N. Congo operation in the interest of the Elisabethville secessionists; the mining companies also have a powerful phalanx of spokesmen in both houses of the British Parliament itself. As Wilson said on that occasion, it would take far too long to name all the peers, present and former Tory ministers, and other influential figures in London who are or have been linked with these companies.

Financial interests and personal links with Central Africa are, however, no sure guide to the classification of the various peoples who are now often loosely lumped together as making up Britain's "Katanga lobby." Some of Tshombe's most passionate partisans against the United Nations have no Central African connections, financial or otherwise. Some of the key figures in Rhodesian finance are farsighted enough to see that there is no future in diehard opposition to the southward surge of African nationalism.

AT THE extreme end of the spectrum are to be found some survivors from the 1956 "Suez group" and other British "ultras," men who have never been able to adjust themselves to the end of empire. Anti-Americanism is as strong a factor among them as anti-Africanism: perhaps stronger. In the *Sunday Express* of December 17, Lord Hinchingbrooke, a Conservative member of Parliament, put the question: "Who has done the British Commonwealth the greatest mischief since the war? . . . Is it Russia, is it Europe? Or is it the United States and the United Nations?" Making it very clear that he blamed America for most of postwar Britain's

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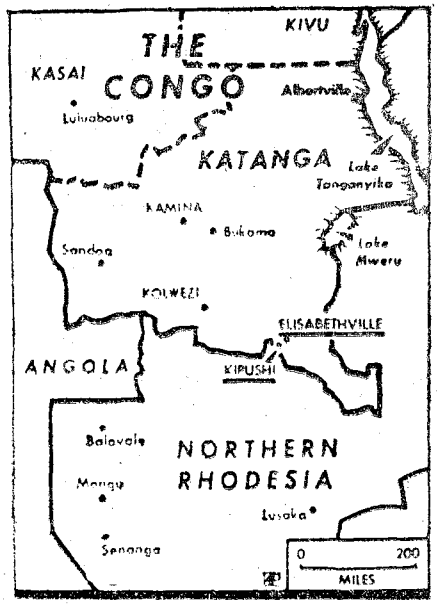


troubles, he blamed it in particular for supporting in the Congo that "monster of iniquity," the United Nations, which, he went on: ". . . is fast becoming Britain's principal enemy. We may have to mobilize support from wherever we can to defeat it, if we and our Commonwealth are to survive."

In the Commons debate on December 14, another Conservative MP, Mr. Turton, ascribed the U.N. operation in Katanga to the American copper lobby's interest in seeing the *Union Minière* stop production. This was a choice example of extremes meeting; for, on the same day, the same charge was made by a commentator broadcasting from Tirana, capital of Stalinist Albania.

MANY OTHER examples could be cited of the extreme views, often passionately violent, that right-wing Conservatives in Britain have expressed during the past four months about the U.N.'s Congo activities—and about all who have had a part in executing or sustaining those activities, including the United States Administration, the Indians, the Irish, the Swedes, the U.N.'s own representatives in the Congo (particularly that rather too cooperative scapegoat, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien) and, on occasion, Mr. Macmillan's government, too. The extremists have not lacked platforms outside Parliament as well as inside; the Conservative newspapers have been generous to them with space. Even so, the extreme Right could not alone have swung British policy as far as it has in fact been swung since September. Few people are really prepared to go all the way with the *Sunday Telegraph* in applying A. E. Housman's noble "Epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries" to the hired gunmen who serve Tshombe, and at times manipulate him, on pay provided by the *Union Minière*.

Lord Salisbury is, of course, a force to be reckoned with; and he has repeatedly led the anti-U.N. charge in the House of Lords, describing the December fighting in Katanga as "this ruthless assault on a peaceful and happy people," and arguing that the mercenaries, who in his view ought rather to be called "the white partners in this multiracial state," should be left in peace to carry on their admirable work. But although Salisbury has undoubted claims on Macmillan, having played a timely part in making him Prime Minister, his lordship has long ago found that these claims cannot be pressed too far; in 1957, when he demanded a diehard policy in Cyprus, Macmillan called his bluff, and his resignation from the government left it unruffled.

Nor can one really ascribe an overwhelming personal influence over British Congo policy to Sir Roy Welensky, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, although his formidable voice has been loudly raised against the United Nations operations in Katanga. In this matter, Sir Roy has stretched to the limit (if not beyond) his own government's constitutional rights in the field of foreign affairs, regardless of the embarrassment of the British Government, which is still ultimately responsible for the Rhodesian Federation's external relations; and, although he is publicly committed to the principle of Congolese unity, his words and deeds have given the secessionists much practical encouragement. Yet even Welensky is not a big enough tail to wag the British dog all by himself.

WHAT EVEN the more liberal elements in the Macmillan government have had to take account of is the wobbly mood of the main body of their party's MPs and active supporters. This mass of Conservative wobblers has no special love for Tshombe, and would be relieved to see him make his peace with the central Congo Government, and then forget all about him. But these Tories are highly susceptible to the argument that the United Nations has no business to be involved in a "shooting war." Susceptibilities of this kind have been skillfully exploited by the propaganda machine to which Gaitskell and Wilson referred. Even if one sets aside the sensationalist press, many readers of normally reputable British newspapers must have been left with the impression, over the past few months, that the U.N. force in Katanga consists of men who concentrate their fire on ambulances, missions and hospitals.

Gaitskell said of the Conservatives, during the December 14 debate, that "they have swallowed any old atrocity stories they can get hold of." There is, unhappily, no doubt that the propagandists financed by the *Union Minière* have found willing takers for their version of events; while the U.N., which in any case is not equipped for a psychological warfare campaign, has found few. In general, the British press has simply ignored the reports of both U.N. and International Red Cross representatives that the Katanga mercenaries and civilian *franc-tireurs* have ceaselessly abused the Red Cross by mounting machine guns and bazookas in "ambulances." It has ignored, for example, U Thant's revelation that an Elisabethville "hospital" attacked by U.N. troops, about which cries of outrage rang to high heaven, had never been used as a hospital and was in fact a key stronghold of the mercenaries.

Wild charges against the U.N. have been given splash treatment. The U.N.'s sober denials, if printed at all, have usually been given short shrift in obscure corners. This heavily lopsided presentation has not been confined to "atrocity" stories. When Conor O'Brien held a press conference in New York after his resignation, even *The Times* of



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London used only a few lines of its own correspondent's report (which, very properly, concentrated on his serious charges against the British Government), preferring to use agency reports to make up the bulk of the story which it then splashed under the three-column headline "Dr. O'Brien Speaks of his Private Life." On this occasion, the London press as a whole amply justified O'Brien's claim that there was an orchestrated campaign to discredit him. For the sponsors of this campaign, it was unfortunate that, immediately after the resignation under British pressure of this U.N. official, fighting began again in Katanga while the senior U.N. representatives there were Brian Urquhart — a British ex-officer with a distinguished war record — and George Ivan Smith, an Australian too widely respected in London to offer a target for a smear operation.

India's move into Goa came at a most timely moment for the U.N.'s British critics. But the "new wave" of anti-U.N. feeling took shape long before Goa. It was the Katanga conflict that provided fertile ground for the implanting of doubt and alarm among many people who are not classifiable as extremists. And to understand their readiness to think the worst of the U.N. in this context, one must recall the geographical background summarized at the beginning of this article.

In West Africa, as in Asia, Britain can show an impressively successful record of "disimperialism." In East Africa, Tanganyika is already independent, Uganda and Kenya poised on the brink of independence; within the Central African Federation itself, Nyasaland has been virtually yielded into the hands of Dr. Hastings Banda's Nationalist Party. But the upland Rhodesias, with their 300,000 whites, and their origin as an extension of South Africa, where three million white men hold unchecked sway, are a very different matter. This, in its way, is Britain's own Deep South. The bulk of British opinion is by no means resolved on the upholding of the white Rhodesians' position against the encroaching tide of African nationalism; but, unsure and reluctant to face this gathering crisis, it is easily led to suppose that "meddling" in Central Africa by the U.N. — particularly its Asian and African elements — is the creator of conflict, not a potential moderator of it. The Katanga-Rhodesia border is a political watershed as well as a geographical one. As the African nationalist tide laps up to it, the whole British relationship with the newly independent Afro-Asian world comes into question again, more painfully than ever before.

# DETROIT'S ANNUAL MODEL BILL . . *Bernard Nossiter*

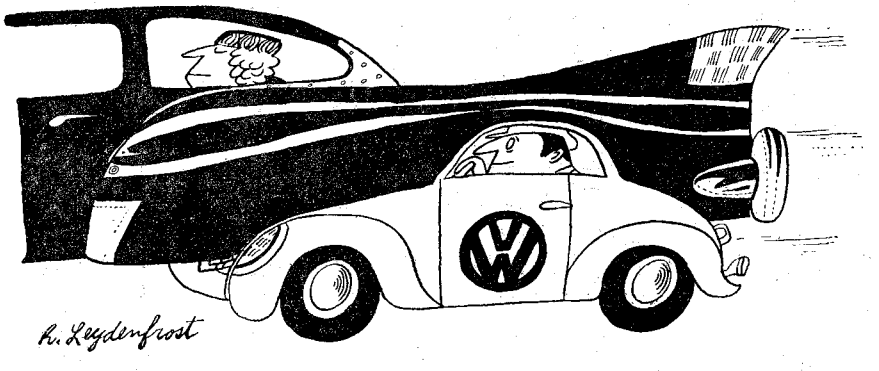
ARE YOU driving faster and enjoying it less? Do you get a sinking feeling in your bank balance when you tune up that longer, stronger, easier-to-drive auto (assuming, of course, that you are not driving a compact)? You should, if the calculations of three ingenious mathematical economists are anywhere near the mark.

The three, Franklin M. Fisher of MIT, Zvi Griliches of Chicago and Carl Kaysen of Harvard, have totted up the cost for Detroit's yearly model changes — including those involved in producing the new small cars — and displayed it before the American Statistical Association's annual meeting. For each new car buyer, it came to an extra $725 a year in the 1956-60 half-decade — more than 25 per cent of the average price of four-door sedans. And this doesn't count the cost of additional gas that the bigger buggies must consume, an item amounting to $38.94 for each 10,000 miles over the same five-year period.

For those who like their figures on the astronomical size, say of the order of defense budgets, consider this: the cost to the economy as a whole of the model change has averaged $5,060 million a year from 1956 through 1960. Over the decade Detroit has spent an unbelievable $33,750,000,000, mostly to increase the length, weight, horsepower and advertising of its models, pay for the special tools to make the changes and give consumers the blessings of power transmission, steering and brakes.

The sum of $33.75 billion is considerably more than our total output on foreign aid since its birth. Spent in other areas, it could transform our schools; provide us with a start on the rational mass-transit system that would make city life bearable again; fuel a massive assault on urban blight; and leave enough left over to take care of the Metropolitan Opera's deficit and cultural shortfalls in cities less privileged than New York.

THE Fisher-Griliches-Kaysen study —sixty-one pages of closely reasoned mathematics and statistics by a trio

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of impeccable academic pedigree — is a rare econometric excursion into the real world. (It is not known whether the abyss he discovered there drove Kaysen into the comparatively saner region of foreign affairs; at any rate, he is now on President Kennedy's personal staff as an adviser on international problems.)

The three economists started with the 1949 models, simply because data was available for that year. For each succeeding year, they computed the additional cost of increasing the average over-all length (from 200.8 inches in 1949 to a peak of 210.4 in 1959 and now back to 201.7 in 1961), the weight (3,290 pounds in the base year to 3,671 pounds in 1959 to 3,303 pounds in 1961) and horsepower (104 in 1949 to 217 in 1958 to 163 last year).* Then they added up the cost of the automatic features, the retooling, the extra advertising and the increased average gas consumption.

Just to rub it in, the trio figured that if the 1949 auto's specifications had been continued through the 1950s, retaining only the useful improvements that have taken place, gasoline consumption would have dropped from 16.4 miles per gallon to 18.0 miles per gallon by 1959. Instead, it rose to 14.3 miles per gallon.

Economists who have been arguing that the Consumer Price Index presents an exaggerated picture of price increases because it ignores the fact that the quality of goods is improving can chew on this one for a bit.

Moreover, all these figures are underestimates of the social cost of model changes. The Fisher-Griliches-Kaysen team figures there is an additional $7.1 billion of extra cost for future excessive gas consumption built into the existing stock of cars. Then, too, they make no estimate of what the bigger, more powerful machines have added to our annual tolls for parking, damage to life and limb and the like.

In classical economics, the consumer is king. So, Fisher-Griliches-Kaysen concluded that up until recent years, consumers got largely what they wanted from Detroit. All the costs except retooling and advertising were visible in the package, and these invisibles amounted only to about a fifth of the extra burden. Of course, classical economics also assumes competition among sellers and buyers. The theory doesn't pay much attention to oligopoly, the situation of the auto industry with production concentrated among a Big Two and a Fraction.

Skeptics of orthodox doctrine are likely to argue that consumers don't have much real choice when there are so few competitors. The follow-the-leader price principle of concentrated industries is matched by the limited range of model choice offered auto buyers.

As sound economists, Fisher, Griliches and Kaysen are careful to say:

> We wish to avoid having this study taken as an indictment of the automobile companies. We are rather in the position of one who observes another man drinking various kinds of liquor. We do not blame the bartender for anything save that he occasionally gives the man more than he asks for of some expensive drink; nor do we question the man's right to drink; nor do we distinguished between "good" liquors and "bad." We do however present the bar bill.

But as men of feeling, even the economists could not resist adding: "And indeed the automobile-consuming public has been on quite a toot, to judge from the size of the bill."

*The retrenchments in average size, weight and horsepower for 1961 are accounted for principally by the compacts; without them, Detroit would probably still be marching toward the Gargantuan.

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***VIRGINIA JUSTICE:***

# If You Can't Get the Law, Get the Lawyer.. *by Glenn Scott*

*Norfolk, Va.*

ONE AFTERNOON last fall, three deputies from the Norfolk City Sergeant's office appeared at the cheerless offices of a local Negro law firm, Jordan, Dawley and Holt. The deputies bore a writ of attachment issued by the Norfolk Circuit Court clerk at the request of the Virginia General Assembly Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice.

The writ called upon Holt to turn over all papers "used as a means for violating the common and statutory laws of Virginia which prohibit champerty, maintenance, barratry, running and capping, and the promotion or support of litigation by those who are not parties thereto." Specifically, the committee wanted records and correspondence relating to the Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc., Virginia Christian Leadership Conference and certain Negro "improvement associations" in the state's larger cities.

It was clearly inevitable that the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice should one day meet up with the firm of Jordan, Dawley and Holt. The committee is one of the belated instruments of defense against the NAACP with which Virginia armed herself during the extraordinary session of the General Assembly in the spring of 1956. This was the session which forged the late, largely unlamented "massive resistance" to racial desegregation of state public schools. The "massive resistance" collapsed with the reopening, in 1959, of schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville and Warren County by federal court order. But the committee, comprised of mem-

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bers of the House of Delegates and the State Senate, lingers on.

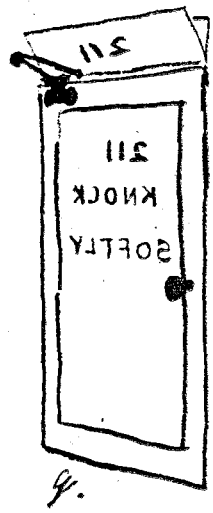
Delegate James M. Thomson of Alexandria, chairman of one of the two committees which preceded the present body, had no doubts about the General Assembly's wishes. Referring to the NAACP, he said his committee could perhaps "bust that organization wide open." It hasn't. Attempts to force the NAACP to reveal its members and contributors have come to nothing. All Negro attorneys who have attracted the committee's scrutiny are still in business. However, the committee's search for sources of racial litigation has not been altogether fruitless. In December, 1959, it reported that "the great majority" of plaintiffs in school-segregation cases in Warren County, Prince Edward County (where all public schools are still closed) and Floyd County "testified that they had never been consulted concerning the commencement of any school litigation or consulted as to its conduct after suit was commenced, and that they had never known they were plaintiffs in any such litigation until that information reached them from outside sources. . . ."

Late last year the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on whether Virginia can forbid the NAACP from providing Negro civil-rights plaintiffs with free legal services by its own attorneys and whether NAACP attorneys who render them are guilty of malpractice.

AND that brings us back to Jordan, Dawley and Holt. All three are relative late-comers to the civil-rights battlefield. All are young: Alabama-born, Chicago-reared Holt, a graduate of Howard University Law School, is thirty-three; Dawley, a University of Michigan Law School graduate, is thirty-seven; Joseph A. Jordan, Jr., a graduate of Brooklyn Law School, is thirty-eight, a World War II paraplegic and, like Dawley, a native Norfolkian.

The trio's frequent skirmishes, in court and in politics, have brought them into repeated conflict with "old guard" Negro leaders who were in the forefront of the assault against racial barriers in the schools.

Dawley made a futile political bid in 1957 as a lone Negro candidate for one of Norfolk's six House of Delegates seats. Friction between the old guard and the newcomers reached general public attention two years later when Holt was expelled from the all-Negro Twin City Bar Association for allegedly breaching a confidence in an article he wrote for a Negro newspaper. Holt reported that four members of the Twin City Bar had opposed endorsing Jordan's 1957 candidacy for the House of Delegates. Two of them were locally prominent attorneys for the NAACP. Last March the legal firm again got into trouble with NAACP when it represented dissident members of the




local branch who were seeking to set aside the election of a branch president who, they thought, lacked militancy. The election was set aside — but the same man, endorsed by the national NAACP leadership, won the new election.

BUT IF Jordan, Dawley and Holt have been an irritant to what they at times considered "Uncle Tom" elements of the Negro community, they have proved no less uppitty to white folks. So far, in Virginia, they have been involved in thirty-five cases challenging racial segregation and discrimination, either as plaintiffs, defendants or lawyers.

Holt also bobbed up on nation-wide TV after the first sit-ins at Southern five-and-dime lunch counters. As a CORE instructor (he was once a field secretary for the organization), he demonstrated to a class of potential sit-inners how to react passively to the actions of white Southerners outraged at the sight of Negroes sipping Cokes and munching hamburgers alongside whites.

Jordan, the paraplegic World War II veteran, weekly rolls his wheelchair into Norfolk's City Council chamber, where he sits as a self-styled "eighth member" of the seven-man body. In June, 1960, after receiving only 3,700 votes in the councilmanic race, Jordan pledged he would nevertheless represent the city's Negro population by regular attendance at council sessions. That there is no Negro councilman, says Jordan, is "Norfolk's continuing unsolved indignity. The responsibility for this situation is to be laid squarely at the doorstep of so-called moderate Negro leadership."

Jordan's contributions as the "eighth councilman" have included, among other things, an imaginative proposal that the city build an underwater aquarium and restaurant in Norfolk's civic center ("Imagine dining below the Elizabeth River and watching the ships and sea life go by") and a threat to seek an injunction against the council if it proceeds with a plan to build a museum-and-memorial to General Douglas MacArthur without asking for competitive bids.

CONSIDERING their flamboyant methods of operation, the only surprise is that the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice did not find time for Jordan, Dawley and Holt before last fall.

Confronted by the demand for their records and correspondence, Dawley and Holt huddled in an office for several minutes, then politely refused to honor the writ. The deputies, aware of the limits of their power, equally politely declined to press the matter. Holt then less politely ordered the committee's counsel, urbane William H. King of Richmond, and a committee investigator from the premises.

Rather than hole up and await the committee's next move, the three attorneys counterattacked in Norfolk's U.S. District Court, asking that the committee be enjoined from "further unlawful action to harass and intimidate" them as "part of a conspiracy to preserve racial segregation and prevent black men from opposing it." And they asked that the committee



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chairman, State Senator Joseph C. Hutcheson of Lawrenceville, and counsel King, be prosecuted for violating civil-rights laws.

The committee, in turn, asked for dismissal of the suit, alleging principally a lack of jurisdiction by the federal court. Then it summoned the trio to appear before it—whereupon Jordan, Dawley and Holt obtained a temporary order restraining the committee from issuing further subpoenas and attachments against them. They refused to answer the committee's questions when they arrived in Richmond to represent clients who had participated in suits to integrate cemeteries, swimming pools, golf courses and libraries in Lynchburg, Petersburg and Hopewell. The committee threatened Holt with contempt proceedings in state courts and Holt threatened the committee with contempt proceedings in federal courts.

The request for an injunction and the committee's motion to dismiss it came before U.S. District Judge Walter E. Hoffman on October 23. Hoffman, who had written the memorable opinion reopening Virginia's schools and dealing a crucial blow to "massive resistance," listened to Holt's arguments, but remained unconvinced that the federal court had jurisdiction. He criticized Holt's preparation of the case, but at the same time expressed displeasure with the committee, which agreed to keep hands off the trio until the current dispute is settled.

The American Civil Liberties Union, concerned that the committee's move against the lawyers impinges on the attorney-client relationship, is supporting the trio's action against the Virginia committee. The National Lawyers Guild filed an *amicus curiae* brief on behalf of the plaintiffs. Civil-rights advocates are concerned, too, at the adverse effects successful committee action could have on the Negro's quest for first-class citizenship. Other Southern states have committees comparable to that on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice. Only Negro lawyers — or so it seems — take Southern civil-rights cases. Other lawyers identified with the vanguard of Negro "direct actionists" will take note of the federal court's action.

But if the ACLU is worried about the possible invasion of the lawyer-client relationship by the committee's foray, neither the white Norfolk-Portsmouth Bar Associations nor the Virginia State Bar Association have evinced like fears. Their members appear to be more disturbed by what they regard as a dangerous—if not treasonous—capriciousness of the U.S. Supreme Court than with the troubles of three free-wheeling Negro attorneys who, on top of all their other troubles, are short of funds with which to fight their case.

At the October hearing, Judge Hoffman told the plaintiffs and the defendants that he was aware that the outcome of the clash is of great importance to each. He could have added that it is of importance to a good many others in the troubled South.

Holt is confident of eventual victory.

"We'll win," he said. "It's just a question of in which court."

# FLIGHT FROM DOOMSDAY . . *by Grant A. Flint*

SOME Americans, more realistic or less heroic than the rest of us, are now convinced that all-out thermonuclear war is an imminent certainty rather than a dangerous possibility. They believe that peace demonstrations, petitions, letters to government officials and other peace tactics have proved hopelessly ineffectual, that disarmament is no more than wishful thinking. They believe there remains only one realistic course of action — escape.

Most of these escapees will be gone before the spring rains come. They are selling their possessions, leaving behind friends, relatives, jobs, fleeing the sight of their neighbors' bomb-shelter tombs. They are emigrating to the South Pacific and other far-away places, where they believe the odds for survival will be more favorable.

A Greek Orthodox group is preparing to go to Brazil; the Simon Society will go to Rangatira Island, approximately 480 miles southeast of Wellington, New Zealand; a Quaker group of seven families from California has relocated in the isolated Lardean Valley in British Columbia; a group of sixty will flee from Iowa to the east coast of Mexico early next year. The "X" group (which desires anonymity) is completing its selection of 150 members; single men will emigrate to an island near Australia in February or April, single women and families will follow when houses have been constructed.

These are a few of the participants in the survival-through-escape movement, a phenomenon which has had rapid growth in the past few months. It is difficult to estimate accurately their number. Most of the groups are attempting to keep their activities secret. They believe exposure would bring outside interference, disrupting their plans and upsetting the delicate process of selecting members suitable for life in a survival colony. No one knows how many groups are forming — nor how many Americans are now *beginning* to think about flight from Doomsday.

During three months' membership in a group emigrating to the South Pacific, and a subsequent lengthy study of the general movement, I met directly with, or heard reliable reports of, nearly 1,200 Americans who are planning escape from the bomb and about 500 more who have already fled. Considering the secrecy surrounding the escapees' activities and the mushrooming growth of the

*GRANT A. FLINT, a California writer, spent many months in direct contact with persons planning to "escape" nuclear war.*



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movement, it is safe to assume their actual number is vastly greater.

Not many weeks ago Americans read with amusement—or pity—about the thirty fallout-fearful New Yorkers who fled to Chico, California, only to find themselves next door to an ICBM site and not far from the home base of a covey of H-bomb-loaded B-52s. The Chico group is atypical; few other groups have relocated in this country (notably a small group from Los Angeles, who practice free love and social nudism, have moved to a sparsely populated spot on the northern coast of California). Most survival enthusiasts prefer the Southern Hemisphere for their refuge, and most of them have a closer-knit organization than the Chico group and have put considerably more care into their preparations.

THE NEWSPAPERS recently gave brief coverage to a more typical (but safely foreign) survival group: a British couple who recruited fifty other families (each family contributed $2,800) to join in forming a cooperative settlement. They enlisted the aid of the Royal Geographic Society to find a suitable location and have tentatively decided upon a desert island in the Indian Ocean.

One of the few other bits of publicized information about survival colonies is the story of "Project Noah." Students at Harvey Mudd College, Claremont, California, were given the following assignment: Assuming there will be a nuclear war so devastating that the earth's surface will be uninhabitable for 100 years, design a survival colony to keep civilization alive during that time. After consulting scientists and other authorities, the students decided upon the following "solution": locate the colony in a salt mine or in some other suitable underground refuge; grow food in hydroponic tanks; take underground a record of civilization (libraries of microfilmed books, films, tape recordings, prints of art masterpieces); and take underground the best living minds of the society. No mention was made of how the "best minds" would be selected, nor the methods by which sanity would be maintained during the century underground.

How does an individual join a survival colony? The larger groups place tiny ads in periodicals read by potential members. You answer the ad and receive something like the following: "Dear friend: Thank you for your recent inquiry concerning our group. We hope the following information will help you decide whether you wish to explore further specifics with us. We welcome any questions you may have and any reactions, positive or negative."

The potential member is then given a brief, generalized outline describing the proposed survival venture.

Sometimes the prospective member is told in this initial contact the exact location of the proposed community. More often he is told only the general corner of the world where he may expect to relocate.

If he is still interested, he next receives more detailed and friendly information and an application form to fill out (something like a combined employment form and personality test). He is asked about his skills (doctor? farmer? plumber? cook? fisherman? radio operator? veterinarian?), whether he has ever had a nervous breakdown, what psychological difficulties he might face living in isolated, close contact with other personalities, whether he has had experience in camping outdoors, what he feels would be his most positive contribution to the group, etc.

IF HE receives a passing grade on this multi-paged examination, eventually he is visited by one of the group's leaders, who gives him a formal interview (again to be evaluated on a precise scale), and a generally exhaustive inspection: how well do husband and wife get along? parents and children? If he passes this roadblock, he is tentatively accepted, meets other members for their approval, and if all goes well, he becomes a full-fledged member with the privilege of helping select other members and in other ways aiding the group in its final preparations for exodus.

The majority of the survival colonies combine individualistic and cooperative features in their principles of community organization. They have borrowed what they consider the best features of past and present cooperative groups such as Brook Farm, New Harmony, the Hutterites, New Llano, the Oneida Colony, New Lebanon, the Sunrise Community, and the Israeli *Kvutzot* and *Kibbutz (Moshav)*.

Most of the larger emigrating groups have, or plan to have, approximately 150 members, the minimum necessary for large-scale farming. In the typical group, land, some improvements and machinery are cooperatively owned, but in all other respects personal property rights are upheld. Family units remain intact. Community decisions are arrived at by common agreement, much as the Quakers do at their "Meeting." Economic contacts are maintained with the external world (i.e., small industries specializing in individual craftsmanship are utilized to augment the community income), but as far as possible the community attempts to be self-sustaining.

Many of the groups have encouraged mixed racial and religious membership, and some have allotted a certain percentage of their membership to representatives from other countries. It usually costs a member a specific amount to join the community (one group requires $2,100 per person, $4,000 for a couple, $600 for each child). This money is used to buy land, pay for transportation to the refuge, and for housing, machinery, community buildings (storehouse, freezing plant, bakery, schoolhouse, library, common house) and enough food to keep the community going until it can sustain itself.

Nearly all the survival colonies share another characteristic: each tends to view its venture as the nucleus of a new way of life, as a social experiment which might serve as a model for the external world—if the external world survives. And in the event that most of civilization is destroyed by thermonuclear war, the colonies picture themselves as tiny oases in a nuclear-ravaged wasteland, capable of preserving the better values of civilization and fostering the beginning of a new world.

WHAT does the survival-through-escape movement mean to the rest of us? Do those who flee from Doomsday exaggerate the danger? When told about the emigrants, the



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man on the street says: "Who are these nuts, anyway? Beatniks? Commies? Don't they know they'll lose their citizenship?" Or he says, "What's the use of being alive out there some place if the rest of the world is dead? Anyway, what right they got to leave? They ought to stay here and face it with the rest of us."

If the escapees were "crackpots," as the man on the street suggests, their plans could be shrugged off more easily. Most of the emigrants, however, appear to be reasonably sane people. Among them may be found lawyers, scientists, doctors, architects, university professors, engineers, government officials. Most of them are people whom their neighbors think of, or used to think of, as successful participants in the American Way of Life.

Aside, however, from the emigrants' heretical notion that nuclear holocaust is just around the corner, they differ from the average American in one other particular: they now find the American way of life intolerable.

"I can't identify with this society," says a young history professor on the West Coast. "And I can't see any way to change it. The fact that we're driving toward nuclear holocaust is the last straw. If I could love my country, maybe I'd stay. But this feeling has been building up in me for a long time. I'm sick of crowds, neon signs, planned obsolescence, freeways, credit cards, TV, smog, Madison Avenue, loyalty oaths, the American Legion, the HUAC, the Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan — the whole degrading mess of it. I don't want my children to become jingoistic flag-wavers, race-prejudiced ciphers. On the other hand, I don't want them to become outcasts because they believe as I do."

One of the Quakers who relocated in an isolated part of British Columbia states that his group believes the United States is a decadent society rather than a growing one. They felt the need to escape to the raw frontier where they could control their own lives as much as possible, and regain the independence lost in a sick, urban society.

Those who flee the bomb will of course pay a heavy price for their

venture. They will be leaving behind friends and loved ones whom they will most likely never see again. And though they are seeking security—survival—they will find that their pioneering effort has built-in insecurities; they will face many problems which they are unable fully to anticipate as they form their plans.

Cooperative communities of the past usually failed. One-third of them lasted less than two years, two-thirds had failed by the end of ten years. The present cooperative efforts, however, will perhaps be able to profit from the mistakes of the past, and they shouldn't be as subject to one of the chief causes of past failures—lack of sufficient motive.

There are some indications that a large proportion of today's Utopia-seekers are better qualified to discuss philosophy than to plow a field, milk a cow or repair the plumbing. And they show a tendency to brush aside imponderables encountered in their planning with strong faith, or the assertion that intelligence and determination will conquer all difficulties. Aside from this, their preparation appears in most instances to be thorough and realistic.

MANY of us, even if we agreed nuclear holocaust is imminent, would think there is something cowardly and callous about an attempt to escape. What kind of people are they who can leave behind their friends and scores of millions of their fellow-Americans to face the horrors of thermonuclear war? The emigrants have quick answers. They say they have tried all alternatives to escape, are convinced of the impassable national and international blocks to peace. They hold that a sane man must regard the outbreak of nuclear war within the next few years as a certainty. To believe otherwise, they insist, is wishful thinking, unrealistic, insane.

And they say they have for a long, frustrating time been badgering relatives, friends and strangers concerning the danger which faces us. No one listens. People tell them, "If it's going to happen, it's going to happen, no use thinking about it." Or—"Pray for peace."

The emigrants ask their critics to distinguish between bravery and stupidity. And they suggest that it may not be noble to die with idiots, or those who have repressed worry to the point of catatonic stupor.

Noah warned, people laughed, Noah built his Ark.

SOME OF us believe the emigrants have overlooked a vital point. The day of the "ultimate weapon" grows nearer. The idea that one will be safe anywhere on the earth may soon be as outmoded as today's belief that one is safe in a basement converted to a fallout shelter, or yesterday's belief that any nation can isolate itself from the rest of the world. One of the leaders of a group leaving early next year answers this criticism by saying, "You who stay here will probably die within the next few years. We who are leaving will probably live longer. And we will live better in the time we have left. A reasonable man will choose to stay alive as long as he can."

To those of us who criticize the emigrants' conviction that escape is the only solution, the emigrants might justly answer: "What have *you* to offer, what are *you* doing instead?" The time has come, as the man on the street would say, to put up or shut up.



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*SPECIAL REPORT ON LABOR*

# The Future of Collective Bargaining . . *by William Gomberg*

THE SPEECHES of the President and his Secretary of Labor before the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations left the audience bewildered and only partially satisfied. What was said was broad enough and confused enough to make every delegate feel that he was almost (yet not quite) free to do exactly what he wanted and still argue that he was acting in accordance with Administration policy. The speeches bore what has become the hallmark of this Administration: confused directives clothed in soaring rhetoric. Stanley Levy (*The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1961) reported that the President, in his address, departed from his advance text, which had contained a warning to labor to "demonstrate its responsibility in helping to keep over-all wage movements in line with increases in productivity." But carried away by the friendly enthusiasm of his audience in contrast to the relative frigidity with which he had been greeted at the NAM a day earlier, the words came out: "I am hopeful that management and labor will meet their responsibility to permit us to compete, that those of you who are in the area of wage negotiations will recognize the desirability of our maintaining as stable prices as possible."

The next day Secretary Goldberg (*The New York Times*, Dec. 10, 1961) amplified the President's thought. "Now what the President yesterday is recognizing," Mr. Goldberg said, "is the necessity to correct inequities, recognizing the variations by industry and by companies within an industry, that wage increases over-all . . . should be earned by increasing productivity." He then went on to emphasize the need to organize the unorganized in order to bring up substandard wages—adding, parenthetically, that the big unions could take care of themselves. His principal theme was that there was plenty of room for increases in our economy.

The convention delegates cheered the President to the echo and then proceeded to ignore his advice. Reuther made a speech embodying splendid 1936 clichés about the lag in purchasing power of the work force. Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., of the Electricians, not given to verbal pyrotechnics, gathered his New York Building Trades boys about him and announced that he would pioneer the demand for the twenty-hour week for his union, which is already on a thirty-hour week and working overtime an hour a day because of the shortage of electricians.

Small wonder that *The New York Times*, tongue in check, editorialized on December 10 that "the Kennedy Administration is finding it hard to decide when wage increases become inflationary."

### Kennedy's Letter to Steel

Last October the President addressed his famous letter to the steel companies calling upon them voluntarily to restrict their price increases. The industry chose not to raise prices—for reasons as many as there are people to speculate on them. Some feel that the President, by writing the letter, had implicitly obligated himself to the industry to crack down on the Steelworkers when their agreement expired—and that he got nothing in return. These observers argue that any increase in steel prices was ill-advised anyway, primarily because of the aggressive expansion of the aluminum makers (who had dropped prices 2c a pound) into areas hitherto monopolized by steel. Add to this the development of plastic, concrete and glass substitutes for steel in the construction industry, and the argument that steel companies were not planning to raise prices seems eminently reasonable.

The President's intentions were quite clear. He was offering a *quid pro quo* to American steel management: "Voluntarily restrict your price increases when wages go up on Oct. 1," he was saying in effect, "and I will bring pressure on the union to withhold demands for increases when the wage agreements expire in 1962." His offer was a trial balloon which, if accepted, could mean profound changes in the collective-bargaining process. It implied a moving away from pluralistic decision-making in the field of wages and prices in favor of the formulation of a national wage policy by the government to which the parties would be pressured to conform. How well adapted are our institutions—including trade unions and management—for this fundamental change?

Steel management rejected President Kennedy's attempt to intervene. Their responses to his letter varied from mere acknowledgment of its receipt to detailed efforts at selling the steel industry's economic concepts as a substitute for those of the Council of Economic Advisers.

The position of the steel companies is not without logic. They pointed out that they have no alternative but to resort to a pricing policy that will yield them the additional capital required for their operations. Their critics demand that they behave like a private-power utility, restricting their earnings and resorting to the money market for additional capital funds. But if they did so, they would incur all the risks posed by the wild fluctuations in the demand for steel and, at the same time, suffer the restrictions imposed upon the earnings of the utility companies. The demand for electric power is relatively predictable and stable. Steel Company flotations of additional stock in old companies would have no chance against the heavy earners available to suppliers of capital.

Government economists, in effect, are demanding that the steel industry change its method of capital accumulation without having thought through the full implication of their request. It is instructive to study the roots of the President's thinking.

### The Council of Economic Advisers

Harry Schwartz, in the Sunday magazine of *The New York Times*, Aug. 12, 1961, reports an interview with the members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Messrs. Walter Heller, James Tobin and Kermit Gordon. The interview is noteworthy because it sets the economic framework within which the most liberal of President Kennedy's advisers expect the trade unions to function.

The questions that arise as this framework is reviewed are as follows:

¶What is the likelihood that the labor members of the President's Labor-Management Committee will be able, or even willing, to adopt this implied policy in their day-to-day bargaining?

¶Can the unions survive the voluntary

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adoption of, or involuntary imposition of, this policy over a prolonged period of time?

The question put to the advisers by Mr. Schwartz was: "President Kennedy announced that the purpose of his Labor-Management Committee was 'to give direction to the general movement of wages and prices so that the general welfare of this country can be served.' Isn't this an approach to increased government planning?" Mr. Heller, in his reply, stated that the President was expressing a hope that labor and management will exercise a certain amount of voluntary self-restraint in order to serve the interest of the people as a whole. Mr. Gordon added: "The decision made by large corporations and unions as regards prices and wages affect our competitive position in world markets where we have been having problems."

Mr. Schwartz then put the question: "Is it realistic to expect that because a small group such as the Labor-Management Committee agrees that there should be no more than a 3 per cent increase in wages in a given year, unions and management will go along voluntarily?" Messrs. Tobin and Gordon replied with a platitude, i.e., that "The object is to generate in labor and management understanding of the important relationship between their decisions and broad national goals."

It is this macroscopic thinking in national wage terms and national profit terms that makes the prescription unworkable except for very short-term purposes such as a shooting war. George Taylor, as a member of the World War II Labor Board, was able to impose a "Little Steel" formula upon both parties — and, even in time of war and despite safety valves like a fund for inequities, both groups chafed under its restraints.

### Wage Restraint in Sweden

A thorough analysis of the problem entailed in a union's showing "self-restraint" was made some years ago by two leading economists associated with the Swedish trade-union movement, Gosta Rehn and Rudolph Meidner (see R. Turvey, ed.: *Wage Policy Under Full Employment*). In 1952, the Swedish economy was enjoying full employment. That year, Erik Lundberg, Chief Economist for Sweden's Business Cycle Research Institute, after analyzing past wage and price movements, set the stage sadly for trade-union economists with the following observation: "The tragic fact is . . . that we have very little empirical foundations for our generalizations about the complicated interdependence of wages, productivity, profits and level of employment." This remains as true today as when written. The likelihood, therefore, of the President's Labor-Management Committee's gaining acceptance for a program such as that offered by Messrs. Heller *et al.* is not very encouraging. The recent AFL-CIO convention proves conclusively that it won't.

### Macroscopic Approach

Trends would indicate that we are approaching familiar prewar situations: the existence of a considerable labor reserve and freedom of production with a minimum of state interference in prices except on a hortatory level (see William Gomberg, "Economic Growth and Automation," *California Management Review*, Fall, 1961). The principal difficulty with following the prescription of the Council of Economic Advisers is the implicit assumption therein that unions are not to make use of their strategic position to compel the non-marginal producer to fork over some of his excess earnings. The union, to survive, must act on an enterprise basis. The planners lump all decision-makers into an inchoate mass to be governed by a bureaucracy, or held accountable to that bureaucracy for economy-wide decisions which they are not geared to make.

The macroscopic decision-maker thinks in terms of a wage level for the automobile industry; the individual negotiator thinks in terms of making a particular manufacturer meet his demands for increased wages.

Meidner states that if the trade-union movement accepts a centralized wage policy, it gives up one of its most important tasks — that of increasing wages for its constituents. The function which the unions are asked to abandon is presumably to be replaced by their abstract participation, as an organized group of workers, in the life of the nation. This may make beautiful rhetoric for the intellectual in love with abstract formulations, but it is unlikely to appeal to a union politician running for office.

Meidner puts it very succinctly in the following passage:

> The consciousness that the organization no longer has the final decision in making agreements, must needs weaken the feeling of common interests and moral strength which has been and still is the shibboleth of trade unionism. More important, the belief that one could deprive the trade-union movement of its character as a free organization and at the same time maintain it as an economic and political power center is thus shown to be an illusion.

Gosta Rehn points up the dilemma that a trade union faces in making its contribution to employment stability under a sympathetic government. He sets down two conditions that must be maintained if liberty in the free market is to be maintained in a full employment society:

¶Average profits must not be high.

¶Large wage differentials, which cannot be accepted as fair premiums for different degrees of skill, accident risks and the like, must not exist.

Rehn concludes:

> Profit margins must be severely squeezed between the high wages which the trade unions can secure when there is full employment and a purchasing power restricted by taxation. . . . Full employment implies a redistribution of economic power in favor of the working classes. They must profit from this increased power, but at the same time labor must assume the responsibility for both stability and progress by allowing the state to tax away that part of the wage increments which were previously the basis of saving and investment by private owners of industry. In short, the price of responsible trade-union behavior is socialization of industry.

### Labor's Pragmatism

The trade-union movement of the United States, however, is both non-ideological and pragmatic. It is anti-Socialist in its thinking and its pragmatic success justifies its attitude. Under the circumstances, the attempt of some members of the Kennedy Administration to impose a Swedish-style centralized bargaining policy on the AFL-CIO does not look very promising.

Secretary Goldberg, to be sure, has denied that the Administration has any such purpose. As counsel for the Steelworkers in 1959, Mr. Goldberg deplored President Eisenhowers' speeches (made immediately prior to the steel negotiations that year) about the necessity to control inflation by self-restraint, referring to the President's activity as "intervention by platitude." The confused behavior of the present Administration reflects the debate going on among the President's advisers. Meanwhile, the Administration's pronouncements are more indicative of what group of advisers has the President's ear at the moment than of the adoption of any clear-cut policy.

Secretary Goldberg is caught between his pragmatic experience and his loyalty



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to the Administration theoreticians. His tactical skill keeps him hopping until a final operational policy can be worked out — if ever.

The official central bodies of the labor movement will continue to protest unemployment. However, when the constituent trade unions are called upon to subvert their individual gains in wages to an over-all policy of full employment, they will prefer to keep their gains. They will yield only to restraints imposed upon them by the market and the reservoir of unemployment. Orally, they will deplore unemployment; operatively, their collective-bargaining behavior will ignore it as a problem. And what is more, they have no alternative if they are to fulfill their function.

An examination of what has happened to the unions and the process of collective bargaining makes the reasons for this quite clear.

**Public Picture of Labor**

It is open season on the labor movement. Everybody from *Barron's* weekly to Sol Barkin, research director of the Textile Workers Union, has it in for the labor leader.

*Barron's* weekly, in an article titled "Bankrupt Labor" (July 10, 1961) writes: "As they jostle for personal prestige, they, the men who guide the destinies of organized labor, are closing their eyes to basic social and economic forces in America. Little wonder that even some of their own number now denounce the whole movement as moribund." The writer continues: "If a handful of labor barons have proved to be morally impoverished, nearly all have revealed themselves to be morally bankrupt." Sol Barkin writes in *Fortune* (November, 1960): "The movement has lost its dynamism. It has stopped growing. Its outlook is, for the most part, too narrow to meet present challenges." Barkin goes on to decry the movement toward protectionism of unions (including his own) whose jobs are threatened by foreign competition. He argues that unions cannot confine themselves to protecting the jobs of their own members; *all* joblessness should be their concern.

Dan Bell expresses in *Commentary* (March, 1960) the final disillusionment of the formerly pro-labor intellectual when he accuses labor of conspiring with large industry to offer no more than token resistance to the use of wage increases to justify price increases at the expense of the public. Two months later Mr. Goldberg, then counsel for the Steelworkers, protested Dan Bell's indictment as unfair, arguing that unions were being used as scapegoats. Today, as Kennedy's Secretary of Labor, Mr. Goldberg must undertake a program based on the assumption that Bell's charge was not without substance.

It is not too difficult to recall how Walter Reuther was admonished by Phil Murray to stick to his last when the former, as a young UAW vice president, attempted in the late 1940s to introduce Chevrolet's pricing policy as a subject for collective bargaining.

Abe Raskin, *The New York Times* labor specialist who has consistently expressed sympathetic concern for the labor movement, gloomily observed that the only issue that seems to excite the present labor leadership is a jurisdictional scrap. There is something about internecine warfare that stimulates the spleen of an otherwise stodgy codger. Writing in the Sunday magazine section, (September 10, 1961), Mr. Raskin expressed fear that the only youthful, energetic labor leader on the national horizon is Jimmy Hoffa; others he dismissed as either elder statesmen or, less flatteringly, as doddering time-servers holding the ramparts against any newcomers. He expressed his disbelief in Professor Bernstein's thesis ("Growth of American Unions: 1945-1960," *Labor History*, Volume 2, No. 2, Spring, 1961) that trade unions continue to grow.

**The New Feudalism**

Finally, Reinhold Niebuhr, who has often been identified with liberal causes, in a *New Leader* article (August 28, 1961) denounces the new feudalism. His article, largely devoted to a denunciation of Hoffa, proclaimed that ". . . the two quasi-sovereignties, management and labor, must be made to accept the same standards of conduct which are normal to the civic community."

But the difficulties that Dr. Niebuhr and his fellow intellectuals are having with the labor movement arise precisely *because* the movement has grown to accept the moral standards of the civic community. Originally, labor made its public appeal as the embodiment of the community's social conscience; its purpose was to establish industrial citizenship for a group that had been enfranchised *politically* but disenfranchised *industrially*. Having achieved this goal, the labor movement is now reduced to a bargaining, enforcing, police-type function. Naturally, it shows all the shortcomings of a police force in the American community.

The kind of disillusionment from which labor's liberal friends are suffering can best be understood, perhaps, by comparing what has happened in the industrial community with what is portrayed in a typical Western movie. The cowboy gallops into the lawless frontier town to do battle with the baddies. He faces the forces of evil heroically, guns down the gangsters and departs from the screen. The end leaves the onlooker with an idyllic picture of law and order where chaos and injustice had prevailed. He seldom sees the big-bottomed sheriff whom the cowboy leaves behind, or worse yet, what happens to the cowboy. We want — we hope — that he remains heroic; but who can live at that intensity of pitch?

**That Liberal Disenchantment**

All of labor's intellectual friends have read Professor Selig Perlman's theory of American job-conscious unionism. All of them were aware how carefully the movement he described eschewed any ideology involving basic social change. My own feeling is that these readers are now shocked to discover that Perlman meant what he wrote. Intellectually, perhaps, they understood, but emotionally they remained unreconciled to the hard implications of Perlman's analysis. They didn't believe it in their guts, and now they are disillusioned.

So today if they were asked to describe the present membership of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, they might put it in the terms used by Louis Adamic to describe an A.F. of L. conclave in his book *Dynamite* (Viking Press, 1929: pp. 439-40):

> Most of them are prosperous-looking, Babbitt-like, middle-aged or elderly men, well dressed, carefully barbered, fat-cheeked, double- and triple-chinned, vast bellied. . . . They are solid citizens, go-getters, full of upper-middle-class respectable pretensions and ambitions. They play golf and belong to country clubs. What impresses them are such facts that the son of one of their boys is a junior at Princeton, where one of the Rockefeller boys is a student, and according to reports, on good terms with him.

Adamic went on to excoriate the A.F. of L.'s conscienceless lack of interest in organizing the workers in the mass-production industries in very much the same way that a modern-day intellectual would condemn the AFL-CIO leadership's token efforts at organizing the white-collar, professional and agricultural groups. Yet, a short time after Adamic had written off the old labor movement, the same organization pro-



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vided the sinews for the great upsurge of the thirties and forties. The intellectual's cynicism may be as misplaced in the 1960s as it was in the late twenties.

**Labor's Functions Updated**

The energies of the present labor movement are divided among three supplementary functions: First, it is obligated to organize white-collar and professional groups if it is to retain its relative power base (the changing nature of the work force — the replacement of blue-collar workers by white-collar workers — has been commented upon *ad nauseam*); second, it must make an all-out effort to organize the agricultural workers if it is to carry out its function as custodian of the social conscience; third, it must continue to get more for its present membership.

Peculiarly enough, it is the democratic

unions — those most responsive to the pressure of their memberships — that force their leaders to sacrifice the more eleemosynary objectives to the attainment of "selfish" ones. It is a truism that the officers of a democratic union will serve those members best who are in a position to exercise political reprisals against them. These are generally the high-seniority employees whom unemployment threatens least. They are the new labor aristocracy. The labor leader goes into negotiations making brave speeches about the problems of the unemployed and the displaced and then comes away with a package that gives more and more to those who remain employed. He continues to get more and more for fewer and fewer people.

This does not arise out of any hypocrisy on the labor leader's part. When he makes a speech about the unemployed, he is sincerely concerned with their plight. He will probably lobby actively in the local and national legislature for laws to relieve their situation.

But the job on which he concentrates his energies is collective bargaining, and there the very logic of his position — in an economy where economic decisions are decentralized — is to pursue the special interest of his constituents. The recent agreements in both automobile and steel show the results.

*Business Week* (September 23, 1961, p. 111), commenting on the just-concluded General Motors-UAW agreement, points out that while the shorter work week was discussed militantly as an issue, no labor representative showed any real willingness to *fight* for it. The writer goes on to say that Walter Reuther had successfully blocked a "progressive" group's pressure for a thirty-hour week at a special bargaining convention the preceding April.

Reuther freely concedes the necessity for a reduction in hours to meet the "threat of automation"; but what counts is not what he says, but the kind of settlement he makes. The real effect of this year's GM-UAW agreement was analyzed by an editorial writer for *The New York Times* (September 22, 1961). The writer stated that the most significant provisions of the contract are in the clauses calling for greater security for year-round income through liberalized supplemental unemployment benefits and a new weekly pay guarantee. The writer noted that the effect of these provisions will be to stimulate much more intense management concern for regularity in work schedules.

**Aristocrats of Labor**

These are laudable objectives. A corollary effect, not noted by the writer, is that GM will be very reluctant to add new workers to its payroll. The result: those presently employed will become more "aristocratic" than ever before and to that extent constitute an increasing "special" interest. Given the choice between overtime for the existing labor force and the addition of new employees, they will favor overtime.

*The Wall Street Journal* (December 19, 1961) reported that GM is scheduling 365,000 auto assemblies against 233,000 for the same time last year. A company spokesman was quoted to the effect that the cars will be put together by instituting heavy overtime schedules for its present work force rather than by hiring new workers.

The rank-and-file aristocracy imposes its special interest demands on the leadership. The futile attempts of a socially responsible leadership to control "moonlighting" (the holding of two jobs on two different shifts) in the rubber industry indicates how difficult the task is of avoiding this role (see "Moonlighting and the American Dream," Ralph H. Bergmann, *The Nation*, July 1, 1961).

A believer in private enterprise can hardly take umbrage at the labor leader who acts in the best tradition of his trusteeship. The public is indifferent to his problems. The injustice felt by the $4-per-hour worker because someone else receives $6 is important to the labor leader and his constituents. But the limited reservoir of public indignation and conscience is reserved for more pressing issues.

Professor Jack Barbash, former Research Director of the Industrial Union Department of AFL-CIO, seems to feel that a profound change has taken place in the thinking of the labor movement — a change that is reflected in the central role which is now assigned to broad economy-wide legislation. Mr. Barbash is much too optimistic. To see this, one need only compare the relative financial and personnel resources that unions put into their special collective-bargaining interests with what they put into "lobbying for economy-wide measures." Even the aggressively pro-labor New York *Post* is irritated with the labor leaders. A *Post* editorial (December 10, 1961) denounced Mike Quill for threatening to strike against the New York Transit Authority if the Authority dared to test its new manless subway shuttle, and also attacked Harry Van Arsdale for seeking a reduction in hours for electricians who are already working overtime. It contrasts the "socially responsible" behavior of the New York Joint Council of Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters — of all people! — who are lobbying for a $1.50 minimum hourly wage rate for underpaid workers in New York City. Teamsters, of course, are being paid a wage far in excess of $1.50 per hour. Attribute this aberration from the norm to the Teamsters' striving for respectability; this behavior is as consistent as the behavior of Quill and Van Arsdale.

**The Political Realities**

For its part, management — with the exception of some professional groups, like the NAM, that have no operational responsibility for collective bargaining — seems anxious to gain an accommodation with the unions. If there were



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any shred of hope left that there could be a return to the "normalcy" of the twenties, it was pretty well smashed in the last steel battle when, after a 116-day strike, Vice President Nixon "persuaded" the steel employers to grant increases far in excess of what they could have settled for without a strike.

The political realities indicate to management that it is unlikely to get from Goldberg and Kennedy what it could not get from Mitchell and Eisenhower. In addition, if direct labor costs can be expected to continue to decrease as a percentage of total cost, perhaps the premiums paid as wage increases will build up the same kind of political protection for management generally that the private utilities now receive from the utility workers' unions (see Robert A. Perry, "When Government Becomes Labor's Boss," *Public Utilities Fortnightly*, Jan. 19, 1961). The private utilities have used the good offices of the Utility Workers' Union in their war against the extension of public power. The union values its relationship with its employer much more than it does the labor movement's oft-repeated professions of loyalty to the concept of public power.

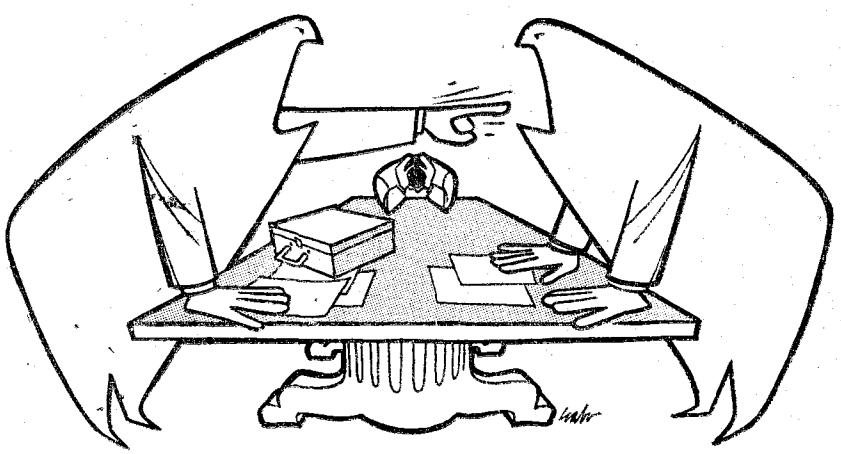
Similarly, the truck drivers and maritime workers are far more interested in the prosperity of their employers than in defending the jobs of their fellow unionists, the railroad workers; and the railroad workers reciprocate in kind. Again, this is quite normal in a private-enterprise economy. For labor as a whole, solidarity is important only for "ceremonial" objectives. And one might note that the pluralism generated by split loyalties is a safeguard against a society permanently split on class lines.

### Jurisdictional Rivalry

The changing nature of work, of course, is what is behind the acrimonious jurisdictional disputes that pit union against union. Gerard Piel ("Consumers of Abundance," Center for Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif.), writes that "the finding of work in a shrinking labor market is an attempt to qualify as a consumer of an almost limitless abundance.... The primary function of work in our economy today is to secure not the production, but the distribution of goods." He anticipates that the automatic-control revolution, now in its infancy, will accelerate this trend. (See William Gomberg, "Automation and Economic Growth," *California Management Review*, September, 1961.)

Every union leader looks upon his job territory as his property preserve. The jobs over which his jurisdiction extends are described in terms that were current at the time of the establishment of the union's charter. Quite clearly, a restless technology plays hob with these descriptions. Wooden window frames become aluminum frames—and the stage is set for a battle between the Carpenters Union and the Sheet Metal Workers' Union. The industrial union, which includes all crafts vertically, finds that it has not immunized itself against these problems. As the line-production workers decrease, the number of maintenance workers, responsible for keeping the line moving, increase. Independent contractors appear who persuade the employer of industrial-union workers that it would be more profitable to contract out maintenance. The contractors employ members of craft unions—and once more the ground is set for a jurisdictional battle, this time between industrial and craft unions.

The 1955 merger of the two labor federations did not put an end to these conflicts; it simply established a single institution to house them.



If labor leaders are middle-class oriented, why should it be surprising that they enter these jurisdictional fights with all the vigor of two real-estate holders quarreling over the location of a survey line dividing their property? (See "Featherbedding," *The Annals*, Jan. 1961, pp. 119-120; "The Work Rules and Work Practices Problem," *Labor Law Journal*, July, 1961, Vol. 12, No. 7, p. 643.) The recent AFL-CIO convention was dominated by this problem, and a new makeshift device agreed upon as a solution will in all likelihood prove no more successful than any of the preceding devices.

Bernard Karsh and Solomon Levine ("Industrial Relations for the Next Generation," *University of Illinois Bulletin*, pp. 18-29), carried away by the drama of automation, talk of new unions that will structure themselves to fit the demands of this new technology. There is no reason why such "new" unions cannot be accommodated within the old craft structure; and it is unlikely that any of the leaders of the present labor institutions are going to give up their organizations to fit any new model proposed by the professors.

### Company vs. Social Efficiency

A more hopeful change in the nature of collective bargaining and trade-union activities was portended by the strategy used by Reuther and Phil Murray to gain pensions above and beyond the Social Security payments to which their retiring union members were entitled. When the question was raised by the UAW, management replied that pensions were a state function. Then, when the UAW lobbied for an increase in pension payments by the Social Security Administration, management lobbyists were in vigorous opposition, on the grounds that the country could not afford the increase in taxation.

When next the parties met at the bargaining table, Reuther negotiated a $100 minimum monthly pension, merely informing the companies that they would have to pay the difference between the Social Security stipend and the $100. Result? Opposition to an upward revision of the Social Security payments collapsed at the next Congressional session.

What makes this technique and its results so interesting is that it points to what may be a basic fallacy in the drive of the Council of Economic Advisers to interfere with collective bargaining. The council argues that the price structure resulting from the bargaining process aggravates an alleged disadvantage of the American in the export-import market. The economist seeks to minimize company costs. But this country's commitment to welfare-state practices mere-



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ly results in the transformation of many of these savings at company level into increased tax expenditures to sop up the very unemployment created by concentrating on company efficiency at the expense of a more generalized concept of community efficiency. To be sure, the plant manager must strive to minimize company costs; that's his job. However, the economist should understand that company efficiency and social efficiency are not always synonymous.

At the commencement of the recent Chrysler-UAW negotiations, the company hinted that its difficult economic position impaired its ability to meet the general pattern of settlements set by the GM contract. Norman Mathews of the UAW asked Chrysler to join with the union in recognizing that "broad aspects of such important problems as unemployment cannot be met at the bargaining table." Mr. Mathews then invited the corporation to cooperate in sponsoring legislation to create a national planning agency which would be charged with responsibility to foresee the nation's changing needs and provide programs for meeting them. Fourteen areas of need were delineated, including the creation of national funds for retraining and relocating workers, provisions for earlier retirement under Social Security, the establishment of international fair labor standards, legislation to protect consumers, etc. The program embodied all of those measures which the union voices when it assumes the role of custodian of the public interest.

Chrysler rejected this social program completely; and what came out of the UAW-Chrysler negotiations was exactly what had come out of the negotiations with GM—an agreement restricted to the special interests of the workers in the auto industry.

It may very well be, however, that the UAW's social program represents the future of the labor movement in the same sense that the CIO became the future of the stodgy codgers of 1929. Among those "codgers" were rebels like Lewis and his followers, who managed to get their reluctant colleagues to move ahead despite themselves. Reuther may serve the same purpose in the labor movement today. Certainly there are enough stories indicating his restiveness with the current leadership. Lewis never became president of the A. F. of L., but he did much to shape labor's destiny after 1933; it is unlikely that Reuther's enemies will ever permit him to become president of the AFL-CIO, yet Lewis' mantle could fall upon him. The alternative is a labor movement that surrenders its birthright. It will not initiate; it will only respond. It will not propose; it will only complain. It will continue to be industry's police partner—and a junior one, at that. Its tragedy could best be expressed in the old epigram: "It's easier to pioneer a country than to live in it."

**Some Hopeful Signs**

The role of government in collective bargaining should be to encourage—with due regard for the public interest—procedures that facilitate results. This does not mean creating for the parties a Procrustes' bed upholstered by the economic council. The procedures must respect the pluralism of decentralized economic decision-making.

The most encouraging experiment of this kind so far is the Kaiser Steel Committee, made up of members of management, the unions and the public, that was created following Kaiser's withdrawal from the employer front in the last steel stoppage. The committee's services are to be utilized on a continuous basis for promoting harmonious relations among the parties. The group hopes to achieve this objective by settling problems as they arise, thus avoiding the accumulation of complex problems that must then be settled under the pressure of contract-termination deadlines. The problems taken up by the committee definitely exclude routine grievances; these continue to be settled under the normal provisions of the contract. They include the kind of issues that cannot be foreseen at the time of contract signing, and are therefore not covered by the agreement.

Bargaining over new contracts is still left to the union and management. However, not later than thirty days prior to the expiration of the old agreement, the full committee meets to review the status of negotiations. It may then take any or all of the following steps: (1) determine to take no action; (2) attend the bargaining sessions as observers; (3) engage in mediation efforts (including private meetings with each of the parties); (4) issue a private report to the parties, summarizing positions and making recommendations; (5) issue a public report. At no point in the process is legal compulsion invoked.

It has become clear that collective bargaining is rapidly approaching an impasse. If it is to survive, experiments with new institutions become necessary. In a sense, this echoes a development that took place when collective-bargaining agreements began to break down administratively over the process of grievance-solving. The clothing workers' unions then pioneered the concept of a permanent umpire, with a thorough knowledge of the industry, who could propose equitable solutions. The previously employed system of *ad hoc* arbitration of grievances had become increasingly unsatisfactory: arbitrators, ignorant of all the intricacies of union-management relationships in the complex industry, often rendered decisions that were judicially equitable, but operationally impossible. The *ad hoc* arbitrator had to become a professional member of the family—albeit one with a professional obligation to the public.

Today, increasing dissatisfaction with *ad hoc* governmental intervention at the climax of negotiations for new contracts has led to a similar experiment, again making use of "members of the family" with a professional obligation to protect the public interest. But this time the experiment is applied not merely to the settlement of grievances, but to the actual formulation of contracts.

Hopefully, a combination of an enlightened management, a progressive labor movement and a pragmatic government will lead to the trial of a number of such devices in the best tradition of the American experimental society.

# LETTERS

(*Continued from inside cover*)

Chauffier, André David, Henri Goetz, Jacques Prévert, Claude Aveline.

*Paris* CLAUDE BOURDET

## Gradualists?

*Dear Sirs:* Your condemnation of India in the Goa takeover [editorial, Dec. 30, 1961] was just as stupid as that of the metropolitan press. Portugal's claims to Goa were as valid as a burglar's claim to his loot. . . .

India has been urging Salazar to relinquish Goa on the grounds that this colony was ethnically and geographically part of India. These requests were laughed at. The West urged negotiations. But you don't negotiate for the return of stolen property. You throw the thief into the jug and take back what rightfully belongs to you. And since when did the Western world give up colonies without some strife and a little blood-spilling?

Your attitude seems to coincide with the gradualism of the colonials and the Southern whites. You folks are not ready for the full benefits of our civilization and culture.

*Brooklyn, N.Y.* G. S. MEISTER



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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Middle-Aged Innocence

*THE END OF THE BATTLE.* By Evelyn Waugh. Little, Brown. 319 pp. $4.50.

***Joseph Heller***

TO GET the most pleasure out of Evelyn Waugh, it's been said, one must take his humorous novels seriously and approach his serious novels with a sense of humor. In the category of his serious novels belongs *The End of the Battle,* the third in a wartime trilogy that began with *Men at Arms* and continued with *Officers and Gentlemen.* This new work, in fact, is so much a part of something larger that it is almost pointless to consider it alone. It begins with a prologue and is preceded by a synopsis. The synopsis relates in swift and sketchy fashion the principal events of the first two volumes, while the prologue attempts to account for the activities of the central character in the two years intervening between the end of the action in the second volume and the beginning of events in this one. Much of the writing that follows is of exactly this same kind: the work often reads less like a novel than a chronicle closing out the lives of people who are brought into the book for no better purpose than to be eliminated.

The central character in this novel, as in the first two, is Guy Crouchback, divorced, childless, forty-year-old member of a prosperous and conservative family of devout English Catholics. It was Crouchback who had welcomed Hitler's offensive against England as providing the ground for a new Crusade in which all moral issues were no longer in doubt, and who was later appalled by the turn of events that placed England and Communist Russia on the same side. Now, for him, the issues were hopelessly and disastrously muddled. His, therefore, was a pristine and patriotic mentality that rejoiced when his country faced annihilation and was dismayed by one of the few occurrences that might conceivably lead to survival.

In the present volume, Waugh continues narrating the experiences of Crouchback as an officer in the English Army. He tells of his return to England after the loss of Crete and of his eventual reassignment to Yugoslavia with a unit of Tito's partisans. At the end of the battle, both England and Guy have survived, although neither seems particularly elated by that result. Guy has found a proper Catholic wife and is the father of two sons. Earlier, he had remarried his first wife, the frankly libidinous Virginia, who was destitute and pregnant with another man's child, and who was killed shortly afterward in a London air raid.

The author writes of these events with an emotionless precision that borders on indifference. England, Crouchback and the war seem to be utterly unimportant to Waugh—and so, in fact, does his own novel. He tells his story without excitement and organizes his incidents without any feeling for the dramatic or tragic. His special accomplishment in these pages is to treat matters that were of great significance to everyone as though they were of no significance to anyone. Even more disappointing, there is almost none of that wicked humor that has always been his most precious talent. In Guy Crouchback, Waugh has given to literature one of its biggest bores since J. Alfred Prufrock. The difference is that while Eliot knew his man thoroughly from the beginning—and made such brilliant use of him—Waugh seems to have discovered the shortcomings of his creation too late, certainly long after almost everybody in these novels who is acquainted with him.

Guy Crouchback is incurably a creature of inaction and ineptitude, a

*JOSEPH HELLER is the author of the novel* Catch-22 *(Simon & Schuster).*

## Visit

**It is not far to my place:**
**you can come smallboat,**
**pausing under shade in the eddies**
**or going ashore**
**to rest, regard the leaves**

**or talk with birds and**
**shore weeds: hire a full grown man not**
**late in years to oar you**
**and choose a canoe-like thin ship:**
**(a dumb man is better and no**

**costlier; he will attract**
**the reflections and the silences under leaves:)**
**travel light: a single book, some twine:**
**the river is muscled at rapids with trout**
**and a laurel limb**

**will make a suitable spit: if you**
**leave in the forenoon, you will arrive**
**with plenty of light**
**the afternoon of the third day: I will**
**come down to the landing**

**(tell your man to look for it,**
**the dumb have clear sight and are free of**
**visions) to greet you with some made**
**wine and a special verse:**
**or you can come by shore:**

**choose the right: there the rocks**
**cascade less frequently, the grade more gradual:**
**treat yourself gently: the ascent thins both**
**mind and blood and you must**
**keep still a dense reserve**

**of silence we can poise against**
**conversation: there is little news:**
**I found last month a root with shape and**
**have heard a new sound among**
**the insects: come:**

***A. R. Ammons***



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person of large sensibility and no will. He is used, abused and manipulated by almost every person he meets, a victimization that comes, after a while, to seem only just, since he does not appear capable of making any better use of himself. His only virtue is that he lacks vice. In the Waugh allegory he personifies middle-aged innocence, emasculated and bewildered in a world teeming with petty ambitions and small and nasty conspiracies. Yet, innocence in a man of forty is no longer innocence but stupidity. It was not innocence but stupidity that led Crouchback to cause the death of an invalid friend with a well-intentioned gift of whiskey in an earlier volume, just as it is stupidity in this volume that leads to the execution by the Communists of a Jewish refugee he has attempted to aid while on assignment to Yugoslavia. And it is not innocence but apathy—although he tells himself otherwise—that leads him to remarry his first wife when she is so desperately in need of help, just as it is apathy with which he learns by letter of her death, and of the death of his uncle and his uncle's housekeeper by the same bomb: "The news did not affect Guy greatly." One has only to compare this report of a death with the one in *Handful of Dust* to see how much less concerned Waugh now is with the potential of his material. In the earlier scene Brenda Last reacts with terror when informed that "John" is dead, thinking that her lover is meant, and sighs with relief on learning that it is only her son. The difference is that Brenda is capable of loving someone, while Crouchback is not.

The net result is that Crouchback is a pitiful, rather than sympathetic, figure, and that Waugh makes a mockery of those causes he seems to be espousing so zealously. It is doubtful, for example, that a more unflattering portrait of Roman Catholics will soon appear in literature than the one Waugh draws of his favorite people in these novels. Were he not himself a Catholic, there would probably be a strong protest accusing him of malicious bias. And were this a more effective novel, it would outrage many of his countrymen, for even the best of the loyal and courageous Englishmen he presents do not fare well in comparison with all those seedy and lower-class figures involved in the Communist conspiracy. It is not that these scheming commoners are as good as their social superiors in Waugh's view of English society, but simply that their social superiors are no longer any better. And if the character of these Communists is no higher, their ambitions certainly are. Crouchback's brother-in-law cavils over a minor part of an inheritance, but the Communists are after Yugoslavia!

It is a dangerous thing to write a novel about a character as dry and unimaginative as Crouchback; Waugh has written three. Because so much more of *The End of the Battle* centers on its hero, it is, I believe, the weakest member of a trilogy whose first two members have not made a very deep impression in this country. For someone who has never read Evelyn Waugh, this would be a poor place to begin. For many who always read him, this may, unfortunately, seem a good place to stop.

# The Spirit of the Original

*THE CRAFT & CONTEXT OF TRANSLATION.* A Symposium edited by William Arrowsmith and Roger Shattuck. University of Texas Press. 206 pp. $4.75.

***Vivian Mercier***

THIS LIVELY though sometimes repetitious book treats every conceivable aspect of translation except one: its use as a method of education. Yet I seem to have spent most of my life between the ages of ten and twenty-one turning good Greek, Latin and French into indifferent English, or else turning indifferent English prose and verse into positively bad Greek, Latin and French. Much of this activity was a total loss, but it taught me one valuable lesson: my Greek vocabulary and repertory of Greek sentence structures were so scanty that I used to translate Victorian prose into a sort of basic English before turning it into Greek; since Greek "abhors the abstract," I learned to write concrete English and even produced some passable Greek before I gave up.

My youthful "academic-literal" style of translation gets short shrift from most of the ten contributors to the Arrowsmith-Shattuck symposium. D. S. Carne-Ross would call it mere "transposition," reserving the word "translation" for work which captures the spirit rather than the letter of the original. William Arrowsmith demonstrates brilliantly how to translate extinct Greek literary conventions by the use of different but living English ones, citing his own renderings from Aristophanes. Jean Paris aims, he says, at liberating "some absolute poem," doubtless the Platonic Idea, behind the verses he is translating. He then, God help him, gives us his French version of Poe's "Raven," which *must* be better than the original because it could not possibly be worse. M. Paris obviously had not heard or read Kenneth Rexroth's paper in the symposium, which remarks in passing: "Sympathy, or at least projection, can carry you too far. All sensible men to whom English is native are distressed at the French enthusiasm for M. Poe, the author of *Jamais Plus*. . . . The reason is, of course, that the French translate their whole culture into Poe before they even start to read him." The non-literal school of translation, then, digs its own kind of pitfall; Roger Shattuck honorably confesses "having published several of the most horrendous bloomers . . . in this century" in his versions of Apollinaire, through youthful ignorance of French. Yet Rexroth actually makes a virtue of ignorance by saying, "The greatest translators of Chinese . . . knew less than nothing of Chinese when they did their best translations." Sidney Monas voices the consensus of the symposium more accurately when he says that the English translator of Russian "may survive literal mistranslation more easily than emotive misconstruction." In discussing translation for the stage, Robert W. Corrigan and Peter Arnott make the similar point that one must translate the gesture rather than the word.

ANOTHER recurrent theme in the symposium, one of almost equal antiquity with the perennial spirit-versus-letter controversy, is the notion of translation as a form of criticism. M. Paris exemplifies this approach, since his subtle rendering of "The Raven" shows his (mistakenly) high critical estimate of Poe as a poet. Carne-Ross and Corrigan mention the subject in passing, while Smith Palmer Bovie devotes a whole rather *manqué* paper to it. Shattuck describes the notion forthrightly as "a commonplace of translation," but goes on to make an important related point, implicit in my opening reminiscence: namely, that the translator "must also offer a commentary on his native language seen from a new vantage-point." Undoubtedly the Elizabethan translators

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greatly enriched not so much the vocabulary as the flexibility of the English language; a similar process can be observed in every language during its seminal periods: the Romans learned by translating the Greeks, Chaucer by translating from French and Italian, the Pléiade by translating from Greek, Latin and Italian, the Irish Literary Revival by translating from Gaelic. Rexroth endorses the view, already hallowed by Pound and Eliot, that translation provides the poet "with plenty of poetic exercise on the highest level." Furthermore, "Translation saves you from your contemporaries" — saves you from imitating them, that is — and in consorting with the great poets of the past, "You meet such a nice class of people."

SO MUCH for the symposium proper, entitled "The Craft of Translation." It contains plenty of stimulating talk by professional translators who have worked with a wide variety of languages and illustrate their generalizations by frequent reference to their own and others' practice. Nothing that these men say, however, is more original or more valuable than the material in the two remaining sections of the book.

In Part Two, "The Context of Translation," Arrowsmith and Shattuck have invited Denver Lindley of The Viking Press to discuss "The Editor's Problem"; Richard Howard, veteran of some thirty versions from the French, to examine some of the practical problems of earning a living as a translator; and Werner Winter, who has translated T. S. Eliot into German, to evaluate, in "Translation As Political Action," the Soviet Union's enormous turnover of translations into and out of the numerous Soviet languages and many others. Winter makes the excellent point that a government's taking a language seriously enough to translate *from* it constitutes far better cultural propaganda than merely translating *into* it.

The volume concludes with an "Agenda for Translators and Publishers" which offers lists of works in Ancient Greek, Post-Classical Greek, Latin, Russian, French, Italian, twentieth-century Italian, Spanish and German urgently needing to be translated for the first time or retranslated. Besides having immense value as information, this final section abounds in entertainment. Translators just naturally enjoy making catty remarks about the botches of other translators. Arrowsmith and Shattuck, having done a fine job as editors and impresarios, insure that their book ends with a bang by themselves setting the jaunty tone of what could have been just a dull appendix. All the "Agenda" lacks is an explosion from Frank O'Connor on the subject of translation from the Gaelic.

# Embodied Knowledge

*THE NEWLY FALLEN.* By Edward Dorn. Totem Press. 31 pp. $1.

***Robert Hazel***

THIS short first book, sometimes delicate, often sturdy, is in the Imagist tradition. Dorn's imagery can be rich, carefully paced and candid in feeling. Once in a while he suffers a lapse into the plain literality characteristic of Imagism, a kind of delicate water-coloring which is merely representational:

> Through the window
> on the branch
> against the evening winter sky
> a blue bird
> rests on the branch

Compare this vivid emptiness with Dorn near his best, in the fully humanized and conceptually charged context of the following passage from "Goodbye to the Illinois":

> Where out of the black dirt
> screens are put up, shocks
> men come blindly to harvest
> and eat large meals in the larger houses
> and the rest of the year you sit in a small house not knowing
> how many rooms you want, not guessing
> how many there are
> of heat giving rise to plants of illusion
> soft winds blowing yellow pollen across the rows
> and in seclusion babies are born.
> in spring, where oh but in winter
> the black vanes of elders everywhere
> or walnut along the river break the sky

In such passages, controlled with an imaginative accuracy which this reader can verify out of the same Midwest experience, Dorn comes near his best achievement, a completely embodied knowledge of landscape and inhabitants, earth and its meaning.

There are some spotty or ragged performances such as "The Open Road" which, after an excellent beginning, breaks apart into cosmology, politics, African lions, and ends with a few of Williams' still-life plums. Again I have chosen to look first at the weaker examples in Dorn's book, to set off his successes, "Sousa," for example, where Dorn displays many turns of his talent: wit, nostalgia, compassion, ability to create live metaphor. "Sousa" begins with witty apostrophe and epithet:

> Great brass bell of austerity
> and the ghosts of old picnickers
> ambling under the box-elder when the sobriety
> was the drunkenness. John,
>
> you child, you drumhead, there is no silence
> you can't decapitate;

then the poet seriously invokes the bandsman, in this less innocent era when "waves of poison will fall," to return to the hinterland in his spirit of an earlier time. The political and cultural meanings are ingrained in "Sousa," embedded and successful, unlike the too-easy mention of lions and Katanga in "The Open Road." Speaking here, Dorn becomes capable of terrible accuracy when he writes of us:

> . . . their ears
> have lifted the chalice of explosion
> a glass of straight malice, and
> we wander in Random. . . .

"The Biggest Killing" also is a telling indictment of atomic pestilence.

"The Prisoner of Bellefonte (pa)" is a short elegy of considerable quiet empathy. It is enigmatic and a little disconcerting because of the last word in the title: whether or not (pa) is a bad pun on Pennsylvania, where the prison is located, and somebody's pa, it destroys sensitivity. It sounds like a bad note on a hillbilly electric guitar. Probably we are not to read father, because three-fourths through the poem there is a mention of a Cleveland Thompson, for whom the "careful transformer" reduced the current. But in this elegy, the electrocution of a man is calmly, sorrowfully, wisely summoned.

"Like a Message on Sunday," "The Song," and "Prayers for the People of the World" are extremely gentle poems, spoken with dignity. The first, a loving portrait of a plumber and his daughter who sit beside a river on Sunday, is almost Chaplinesque, evokes their urban emptiness. The second is a song of nostalgia and love, of which the be-

*ROBERT HAZEL is a poet and teacher. His verse has recently been collected in* Poems: 1951-1961 (*The Morehead Press; Morehead, Ky.*).



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ginning will indicate its faultless rhythm and pervasive gentleness:

So light no one noticed
so lightly she could not care
or her deep dark eyes would have turned
saw I surmised in my fear
her walk was troubled for she tried
men's eyes with her grace;

and the third, "Prayers for the People of the World," is a fairly compact poem of political protest and tonal chagrin about what has happened here.

By and large, Dorn is a careful workman, with acute senses and a subtle mind. His first book is a reward to any finder.

# The 'Ugly' Myth

## *Roy Hoopes*

BEFORE it is too late, before another myth is fixed upon the national folklore, the place in contemporary history of the "ugly American" should once and for all be made clear. When someone says "ugly American" these days there is conveyed an image of the comfort-loving, over-civilized, self-centered American abroad who has been accused of ruining our foreign-aid program. When anyone suggests that our foreign relations be reformed and that organizations such as the Peace Corps should send abroad Americans who are representative of our people, they ritually conclude with the statement that it is time to stop sending "ugly Americans."

Let me cite a few examples: Once, in describing the kind of volunteer the Peace Corps would enlist, *The New York Times* said, "there will be no 'ugly Americans' among them." Similiarly, radio commentator Edward P. Morgan, in describing the accomplishments of the International Voluntary Services in Egypt and Laos, said that "already both governments have requested more of these unugly Americans." The perpetuation of the myth is not solely the fault of the press. For instance, in a speech criticizing the Peace Corps, a young Republican, William A. Steiger, concluded his peroration with the thought that if the Peace Corps volunteers are not mature enough to realize their own limitations, then the program may "turn into a monstrous farce, in which our bright young people march off misty-eyed into the hinterlands to do Good Work—and end up out-uglying the Ugliest Americans."

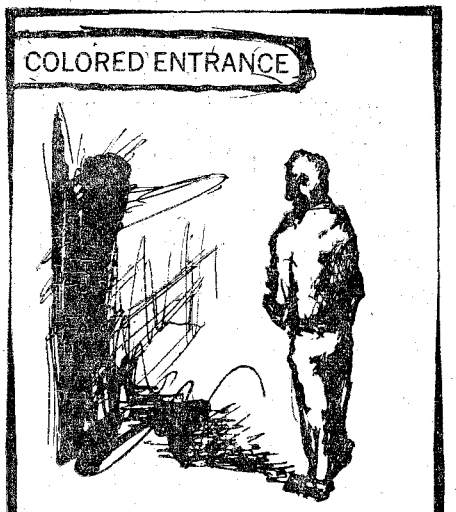
THE PASSION for keeping our "ugly" Americans at home where they can do no harm is very worthy, except for one thing — it misses the point. *The Ugly American*, you will recall, is a book by Eugene Burdick and William Lederer (W. W. Norton, 1958). It pointed out some unattractive, even ugly, things about Americans representing the United States overseas and, despite the fact that it may have overstated the case, the book had considerable impact in the United States and around the world. Indeed, *New York Times* columnist C. L. Sulzberger thinks that *The Ugly American* was to a degree responsible for the crisis in Laos, because it implanted in our representatives there the feeling that they couldn't afford to do anything that looked "soft." The result, says Sulzberger, was an increasingly aggressive U.S. line that finally toppled the jerry-built structure of neutrality, which was our best hope. However, whether or not the book had that much impact on international affairs is not the immediate point. The question for now is: "Is it time to stop exporting 'ugly Americans'"?

The "ugly" American of the book was one Homer Atkins, a fictional creation. "He looked at his hands," the authors wrote, describing Atkins in a conference with a group of Vietnamese and American officials abroad. "This was a trick he had learned long ago. His hands always reminded him that he was an ugly man."

The point was that Atkins' hands bore the scars of a lifetime of practical engineering. He was not a diplomat or an ivory-tower intellectual. He was a practical man and, in fact, during the above-mentioned run-in with Vietnamese bureaucracy he was in the process of telling an assembled group of officials that he would not recommend where to put roads and dams which they wanted to build in Vietnam because in his opinion Vietnam didn't need roads and dams yet. "You ever heard of a food shortage," asked Atkins, "being solved by someone building a military highway designed to carry tanks and guns?" Later, after asking how many of the officials had ever been "out in the boondocks," Atkins walked out of the meeting.

Two weeks later, he was "out in the boondocks" where he became preoccupied with the problem of developing one of the things needed most by the

*ROY HOOPES, formerly managing editor of* High Fidelity *and* The Democratic Digest, *is now a free-lance writer. He is the author most recently of* The Complete Guide to the Peace Corps *(Dial Press).*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Vietnamese—a manpowered water pump. He finally solved it, with the help of a local "mechanic," by inventing a water pump which could be driven by the back wheel of a bicycle, of which there were plenty in the boondocks.

IN SHORT, Homer Atkins refused to participate in government-to-government foreign aid, which in this case, he felt, was a waste of time and money. Instead, he preferred to help the people solve their day-to-day problems. As far as Burdick and Lederer were concerned, Homer Atkins, the Ugly American, was the hero of the book. But listen to *The New Republic*: "What makes an American abroad 'ugly' is not that he is 'conspicuous' but that he is inconsiderate, ostentatious, self-righteous, ignorant or plain indifferent to alien ways. . . ." The confusion has even been made official, in a remark by the present United States Ambassador to India, John Kenneth Galbraith. Mr. Galbraith defines his own conduct as that of the "natural American—as opposed to the Showy American or the Ugly American."

Poor Homer Atkins. Is he destined to go down in history as the prototype of the very American he hated the most? Will the *one* man who, according to his creators, understood what was wrong with our foreign-aid program become the historic symbol of everything that was wrong with it? It would be an ugly fate.

# Second Impressions

## *Review of Paperbacks*

### *Robert M. Wallace*

#### *Russian Studies*

THERE IS no definitive explanation of the Russian Revolution, the greatest social and political upheaval of modern times. Hence the writings of those who were involved, now being reprinted in Ann Arbor Paperbacks for the Study of Communism and Marxism, are timely and valuable. Early titles are by Nicholas Berdyaev, Karl Marx, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemberg, Karl Kautsky and Sidney Hook, all of whom, except Hook, were intimately connected with, or personally affected by, the Communist movement. Selected writings by Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev should follow this excellent beginning to balance and complete the study of the evolutionary trend of Communist thought and development already opened up with Rosa Luxemberg's *The Russian Revolution* and *Leninism or Marxism* (1 vol., $1.65; cloth, $4.40).

Nicholas Berdyaev's *The Russian Revolution* ($1.75; cloth, $4.40) sees communism as essentially a new religion and explains the success of the revolution in terms of the Russian religious Messianic idea. The roots of the schismatic and eschatalogical disposition of the Russian people are found in the fifteenth-century expression concerning Moscow as the Third Rome and in the *Roskol* (religious schism) of the seventeenth century, which divided the people and the hierarchy of church and state—a schism widened by Peter the Great. Russian socialism, then, was religious, not political. It held that the old world must be destroyed and that out of the ruins would arise a new world, free and beautiful. This revolutionary Messianic idea found its way into Russian communism.

The nihilism of the nineteenth century reflected the main themes of Bolshevism: hatred of all religion, substitution of social utilitarianism for absolute morality, emphasis on natural science and political economy, recognition of the simple working people, subordination of personal life to social utility. But Marxian atheism, says Berdyaev, rejects the strong elements of compassion and pity in the traditional Russian atheism. It is concerned primarily with the power of organized society. With the revolution, compassionate atheism became an atheism of power. The new leaders, formed in the war and victorious in the revolution, had a psychology of the victor. The anti-religious psychology of the Communists is one of triumphant revenge and compensation for former humiliation.

In the latter part of *The Russian Revolution,* Berdyaev attempts to extract from communism what is true in order to understand the great anti-Christian untruths. All these, he thinks, come from its godlessness and inhumanity, and he holds that the only thing with which to fight communism is an integral, renascent Christianity working out its eternal truth toward life, culture and social justice.

This affirmation of the religious or semi-religious aspects of the success of Russian communism must be considered in the light of the related economic, social and political environment in which it arose. Ideological doctrines cannot be taken alone as the explanation of ideological movements. Still, *The Russian Revolution,* especially with the other releases planned at Ann Arbor, constitutes a useful approach to the study of the Russian Revolution.

(The foregoing is kindly provided by David B. McElroy, Assistant Professor of History, University of Alabama.)

#### *Art and Criticism*

*The Dying Gladiators and Other Essays* by Horace Gregory (Evergreen, $2.45). Fourteen critical essays, strong, thoughtful, informed and sensitive, chiefly written since *The Shield of Archilles* (1944) and emphasizing moral, aesthetic and theological considerations.

*Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery* by Rosmond Tuve (Chicago, $2.25). Perceptive, exceptionally successful combination of historical and analytical methods in an identification of two modes of thought and poetry.

*The Meaning of Modern Sculpture* by R. H. Wilenski (Beacon, $1.95). A vigorous, now ironically classic explanation and apologia for unofficial sculpture which grows from and interprets contemporary culture. Illustrated.

*Reflections on Art,* Susanne K. Langer, editor (Oxford, $1.95). Twenty-six essays, most written since 1920, and many now first available in English, dealing chiefly with music, painting and sculpture but also touching poetry, the stage and films.

*Aspects of Form,* Lancelot Law Whyte, editor; introduction by Herbert Read (Indiana, $1.95). A dozen specialists' essays on scientific and aesthetic form

### as jews

**he says it shows**
**in the bones around the eyes**
**that after a while say 40 centuries**
**of watching and a sadness**
**the bones near our eyes**
**assume a look and words become**
**overstatements to us**

**and then the idea**
**of pyramids each of us a point**
**crisp with the clarity of ancestors**
**wedged beneath us broadly**
**a sort of kiev feeling**
**or music with the violin**
**carrying the melody**

**in saying the words**
**he touches and becomes my eyes**
**seeing my eyes and mones i can look**
**at our table but see him clearly**
**the fine wellhaunted shapes**
**defining his memories**
**as they were learned**

**and am content with**
**the odd old pride that links me**
**firmly and responsibly to my son**
**to european farms nile valleys**
**causing an acknowledgment**
**to this tender friend**
**to be already inscribed**

***carol bergé***



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with some exploration of interrelations.

*Oxford Lectures on Poetry* by A. C. Bradley (Indiana, $2.45). Shakespeare and the Romantic poets chiefly, in lectures of 1901 to 1905, dated but still enlightening and thought-provoking.

***Poetry***

*The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri* (Oxford: *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, $2.25 ea., *Paradiso*, $2.50), edited and translated by John D. Sinclair. Sound and pleasing prose translations facing the Italian text, with tasteful, restrained notes and comment.

*The Purgatorio by Dante, A New Translation* by John Ciardi (Mentor, 75c). Sensitive unlinked terzines in current English, with Ciardi's commentary and an introduction by Archibald T. MacAllister.

*Baudelaire: Selected Verse*, Francis Scarfe, editor (Penguin, $1.25). A substantial biographical and critical introduction, nearly 150 poems in the French texts and Scarfe's serviceable prose translations.

*Duino Elegies* by Rainer Maria Rilke, English translations by C. F. MacIntyre (California, $1.50). The ten superb elegies, central to Rilke's thought, on the nature and uses of love and affliction; German text and verse translation on facing pages.

***Miscellaneous***

*The Gathering Storm* by Winston S. Churchill (Bantam, $1.25). Volume I of his stirring, incisive, monitory *Second World War*, to be continued by Bantam.

*Sebastopol* by Leo Tolstoy, introduction by Philip Rahv (Michigan, $1.95; cloth, $4.40). Crimean War sketches, December 1854-August 1855, already brilliantly anticipating Tolstoy's mature thought, his perceptions and art.

Hill and Wang now reissues the American Writers Series with up-dated bibliographies but the selections and superb original introductions unchanged. *Paine* ($1.95), edited by Harry Hayden Clark, and *Whitman* ($1.75), by Floyd Stovall, provide more complete works than *Howells* ($1.95), edited by Rudolf and Clara M. Kirk, but all are models.

*English Ancestry* by A. R. Wagner (Oxford, $2.25). Expert genealogical work with particularly interesting studies of social movement.

*The Best of Simple* by Langston Hughes (Hill and Wang, $1.65; cloth, $3.95). Hughes's own choice of seventy knowing, warm, humorous sketches of the Harlem Everyman from *Simple Speaks His Mind, Simple Takes a Wife* and *Simple Stakes a Claim*; Bernhard Nast's line drawings. Also *Native Son* by Richard Wright (Signet, 75c), with a critical essay by Richard Sullivan.

AT YOUR DRUGGIST'S: By Leo Tolstoy: *The Kreutzer Sonata* (Premier, 50c), *Anna Karenina* (Signet, 95c), *Resurrection* (Signet, 75c), *The Cossacks* and *The Raid* (1 vol., Signet, 50c), *The Short Stories of Leo Tolstoy* (Bantam, 95c). By Nikolai Gogol: *The Diary of a Madman and Other Stories* (Signet, 50c) and *Dead Souls* (Andrew B. McAndrew, translator, Signet, 60c; David Magarshack, translator, Penguin, $1.25). *The Queen of Spades and Other Tales* by Alexander Pushkin (Signet, 60c). *Early Stories* by Anton Chekhov (Anchor, 95c). *Notes from Underground, White Nights* and other stories by Fyodor Dostoevsky (Signet, 60c). *Five Short Novels* by Ivan Turgenev (Bantam, 75c). *Peter the First* by Alexey Tolstoy (Signet, 95c).

# FILMS

## *Robert Hatch*

THE FILM of *No Love for Johnnie*, like the novel by Wilfred Fienburgh from which it is made, is another instance of English preoccupation with the contemporary ambiguity of goals and breakdown of ethical relationships. The British are not alone, of course, in the dramatic expression of these concerns, but for them the times are also marked by a blurring of class lines that makes the experience of social insecurity and aimlessness the more poignant. There is no real difference any more between a cad and a bounder, and that is one instance of the fact that the English find themselves navigating their lives without the comfort of traditional landmarks.

Johnnie Byrne, Member of Parliament from a Midlands mill city, is the son of Socialist worker parents. He is Labour Party, of course, but has acquired an acceptable accent and a practical knowledge of table manners through being a "temporary gentleman" in World War II. Heavy good looks, a skill at house-to-house canvassing and the necessary plebian background have sent him to Westminster — where he works exclusively for Johnnie.

Except that it uses bells, telephone or door, with monotonous predictability to keep the action advancing, *No Love for Johnnie* is a well-constructed, well-cast picture. Ralph Thomas, who made all those "Doctor" slapsticks, is the director. Peter Finch in the title role is utterly convincing as a promising man gone flabby, and he is excellently supported by Stanley Holloway, Donald Pleasence, Mary Peach (a very pretty girl who


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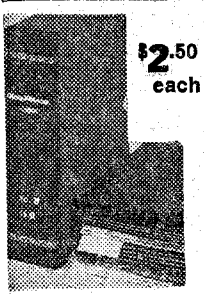

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nevertheless manages to hold a scene more by her intelligence than by her looks) and a generally good cast. It is a more accurate and effective translation of the novel from which it springs than *Room at the Top* was of its prototype, but *Room at the Top* was a better novel to begin with. That is because there was some scope to its central character: his values were all wrong, his star was tinsel, but at least he was aspiring to something. Johnnie Byrne aspires only to have a soft berth. The Prime Minister's secretary calls him a bastard—"an unmitigated bastard" was, I think, the expression—and that is precisely what he is and all he is. His single human feeling is pity for himself—nobody loves him, which is scarcely surprising. He does fall in love with a much younger girl, but only because he is lonely and she is admiring (she also has the wit to cut out fast), and the tears he sheds are for himself.

Finch conveys this slug-souled man with enormous effectiveness, and I don't imagine that it was an easy assignment. It cannot be easy for an instinctively charming man to remain consistently repellent. But he is given no background, no third dimension of time or place, with which to enrich the character. Absolutes are never very interesting in the theatre—paradox and incongruity are what give it life—and surely absolute selfishness is one of the least rewarding traits. How Johnnie Byrne got that way might have made a story, but that is the one that is never told.

ICHIKAWA'S *Odd Obsession* is a powerfully, disturbingly, erotic picture. Its narrative, based on Junichiro Tanizaki's novel, *The Key*, must seem sufficiently untoward to Japanese audiences; to Westerners it is distinctly wacky. And that intensifies the eroticism: the film has the quality of a perversely logical dream.

An elderly scholar, married to a considerably younger and still most desirable woman, has been taking drugs to support his flagging amativeness. Warned that these treatments are endangering his general health, he casts about for a psychological stimulant and realizes that jealousy will rouse him. Therefore he contrives that a young intern — his daughter's acknowledged fiancé and secret lover—shall cuckold him. The wife —of the old school and therefore the absolute servant of her husband's wishes —understands that she is to encourage the young man. At her husband's bidding, she also drinks to excess, and when she is in a coma he photographs her in the nude, and asks the intern to develop the film. The daughter uses her own body to fight for her man, and prowls the dark runways of the house, spying out with half-comprehending shrewdness the ghastly web of her father's impotence. It soon becomes clear that the tormented, half-crazed wife has, this late in life, been physically awakened by her assigned lover. She grows avid, and the picture tips abruptly toward its violent end.

What lifts the film out of mere sensationalism is the complex, heart-breaking figure of the husband. He is by no means a wicked man, nor a trivial one; but a man of considerable intellectual stature and elegance of taste whose personal character is ambiguous (he is a bankrupt living in borrowed luxury) and whose emotions are now turning childish. His acts are revolting, but somehow he is not. Perhaps because one sees that he is in great emotional pain.

It must be obvious from this that the role is very well played (by Ganjiro Nakamura). The whole picture is well played, once you accept the seemingly arbitrary abruptness which modern Japanese acting inherits from its classical past. Tatsuya Nakadai as the daughter, who moves and talks at times like a suburban American girl, is in exciting contrast to her mincing, self-depreciating, doll-faced mother. And the mother herself (Machiko Kyo) has breath-taking moments when the woman in her breaks through the bandages of convention. Only the young man (Junko Kano), it seemed to me, was insufficient for the story. He showed a flat handsomeness most of the time, and a kind of embarrassed heartlessness in moments of crisis. But politeness, I understand, is a Japanese defense mechanism, and perhaps he is better than I realize. In the end, it turns out that the young man is an opportunist; not a very canny one.

There are incidents in this picture as shocking as any I can remember seeing on the screen, but Ichikawa uses them well. Obsession is a quiet sort of madness; a man in the grip of one can make his own hell in a commonplace neighborhood and still tip his hat and pass the time of day. The horrid incidents here depicted are the measure of how deep that hell can be.

SINCE Margaret Rutherford invariably appears on the screen wearing a costume that somehow suggests a suffragette uniform and carrying an umbrella to fend off vicars and stray dogs, she will probably end her days as the one eminent British actress whose name has not appeared on the birthday honors lists. Her comic art is no doubt too homely for Buckingham Palace.

All we can do, therefore, is continue to applaud as she fights indomitably against bureaucracy, the insolence of the lower orders and the opacity of male understanding. She can be seen once more campaigning on these fronts in *Murder She Said*, a thriller from the pen — at some remove — of Agatha Christie. I suspect bungling in the script-writing department, because this little game of murder does not knit up neatly at the end, and Miss Christie is a fastidious needlewoman. However, there is nothing ill-knit about Miss Rutherford's performance — she is nemesis in tweeds.


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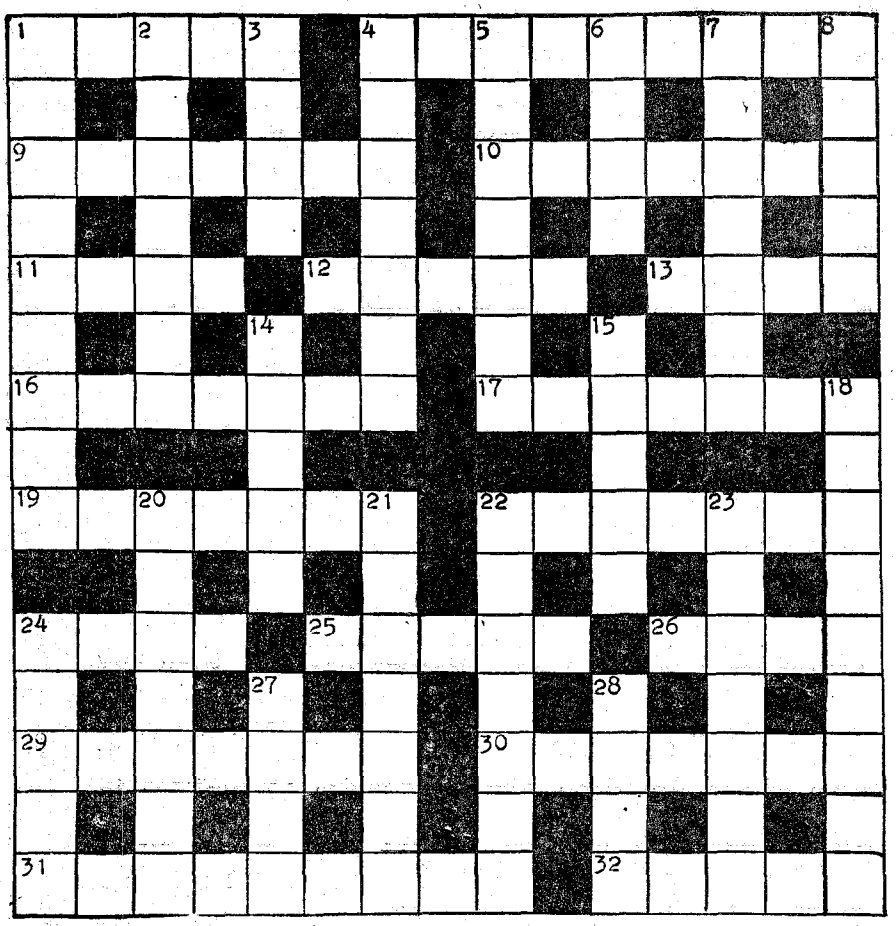
# Crossword Puzzle No. 946

**By FRANK W. LEWIS**



ACROSS:

1 and 12 Polish sign contained in collections of terms. (10)
4 What might a football player signal for? A pretty kettle of fish! (4, 5)
9 Hang back and lean in with such woodwork. (7)
10 Gray's fair one frown'd not on his humble birth. (7)
11 It's hard and round and constructed backwards. (4)
12 See 1 across
13 Never strike a young lady! (4)
16 How 21 sometime shortened, it is said. (7)
17 Reduce the stock. (7)
19 Port or starboard, with the Nautilus to sink? (7)
22 Two or three of six loud players?
24 Look, notice the burden! (4)
25 See 6 down
26 Army girl? (4)
29 Macauley said Steele was one among rakes. (7)
30 A crib, perhaps, in types for whom things are named. (7)
31 Rush around to put clothes on, and set things right! (9)
32 Those of grass break into foam of flowers, according to Swinburne.

DOWN:

1 Irritates around the lake where pictures might be seen. (9)
2 Deserted, perhaps, but certainly not in actors. (7)
3 and 28 A sickness in easy-going surroundings, where a spanker might be kept. (4, 4)
4 Guessed at the numerical answer?
5 Detains something else, possibly.
6 and 25 Feature knowledgeable concerning the service? (9)
7 A weighty point in financial circles.
8 Turns over under foot. (5)
14 and 15 Room for a creeper, or the rate involved? (6, 4)
18 Triers should be a good city to look for such writers. (9)
20 Is every one retired all washed up?
21 Is Jonathan, perhaps, involved in the direction of Mr. Sullivan, for example? (7)
22 Prevent a loud beginning, alternatively a loud finish. (7)
23 Nothing might bring up 24 hours like an oriental potentate! (7)
24 Certainly not winning roles. (5)
27 Spiritually low, yet morally rigorous. (4)
28 See 3 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 945

ACROSS: 1 Bullheadedness; 9 Antes up; 10 Spheres; 11 Piscator; 12 Ambits; 14 Sidecar; 15 Seeps; 17 Every; 19 Enneads; 21 Cohort; 23 Operator; 25 Prussia; 26 Anapest; 27 Stands to reason. DOWN: 1 Blaspheme; 2 Lutists; 3 Husbandry; 4 Approaches; 5 Easy; 6 Nahum; 7 Servile; 8 Isis; 13 Grand piano; 15 Staircase; 16 Samaritan; 18 and 24 Exhaust fans; 20 Setters; 21 Cape; 22 Rosin.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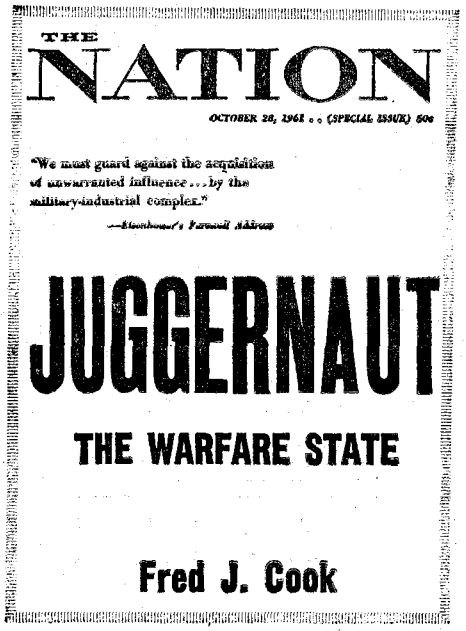
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